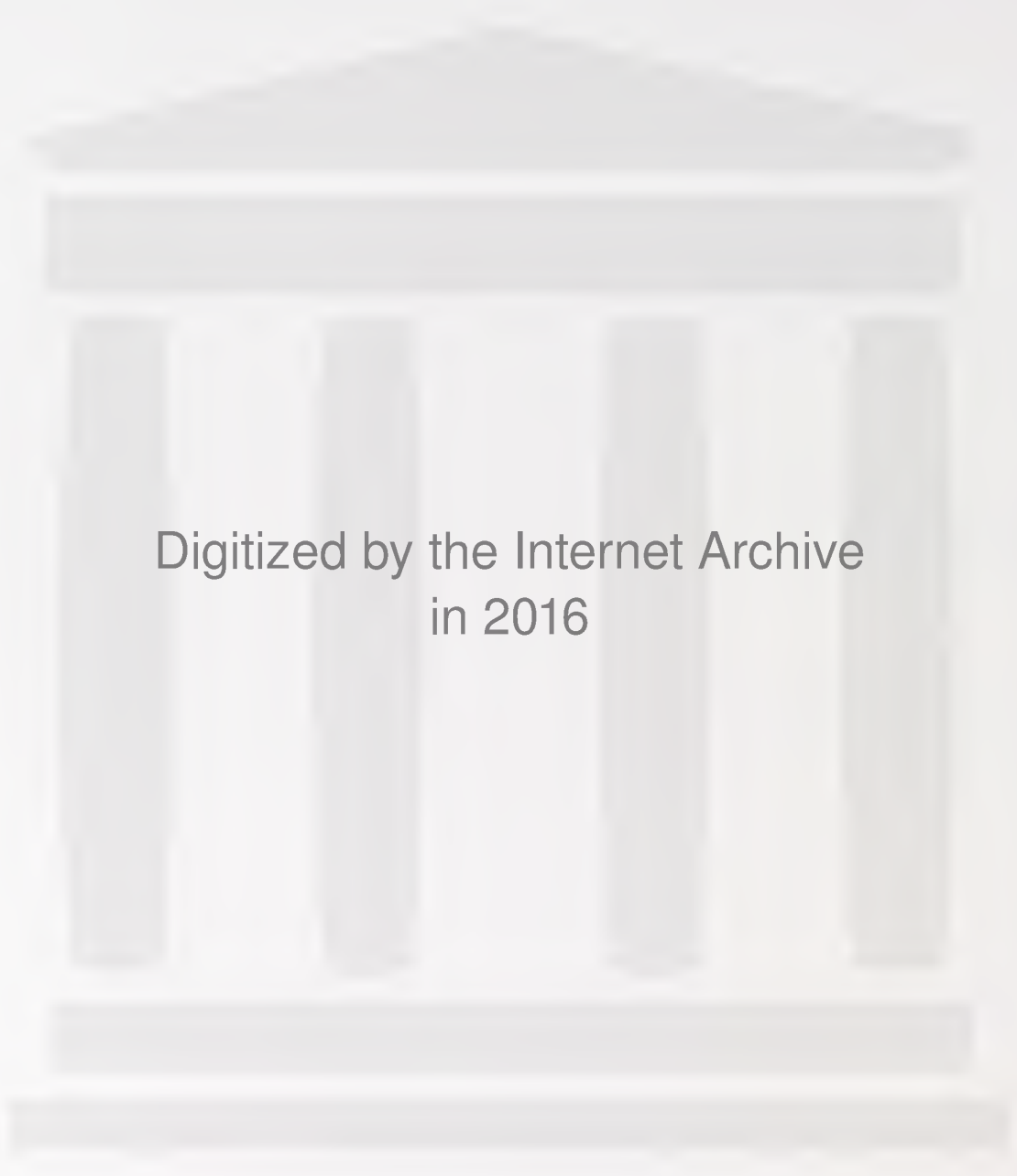




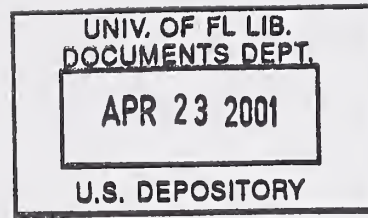






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**THE CHAIRMANSHIP
OF THE
JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
1949-1999**

THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF 1949–1999



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FOREWORD

The recent observance of the fiftieth anniversary of the chairmanship provided an occasion to reflect not only on what a privilege it is to serve as the fourteenth Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff but also on how the position has changed since its creation. This volume, *The Chairmanship of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1949–1999*, was prepared in conjunction with that anniversary. It gives a historical perspective on the development of the chairmanship as an institution as well as on the Chairman's and Vice Chairman's role in the formulation and implementation of our national security policy. It sheds light on civil-military relations at the highest level during the Cold War and its immediate aftermath and provides valuable insight into the interaction of individuals, circumstances, and law, which produced the chairmanship as we know it today.

HENRY H. SHELTON
Chairman
of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

PREFACE

The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is the nation's highest-ranking military officer. He presides over the Joint Chiefs of Staff and provides military advice to the civilian leadership. Soon after the Joint Chiefs of Staff came into existence during World War II, Admiral William D. Leahy became their presiding officer. This arrangement continued after the war, with General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower serving briefly after Leahy's departure in early 1949. When the National Security Act of 1947 gave legal sanction to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, it did not authorize a chairman. However, service disagreements over roles and missions and allocation of funds to meet the growing threat from the Soviet Union led Congress to create the position of Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in 1949. On 16 August 1949 General Omar N. Bradley, USA, became the first Chairman; he had limited statutory authority. Over the years, law, executive action, and practice extended the Chairman's role. Yet his authority remained restricted; he was only first among equals on the JCS. Believing that the JCS system required fundamental reform, Congress in 1986 enacted the Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act, which greatly expanded the Chairman's authority and responsibilities. This book examines the development of the chairmanship as an institution during its first fifty years and briefly presents the careers of the men who served as Chairman and Vice Chairman during that time.

The idea for a book about the Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff originated with Willard J. Webb when he was Chief of the Joint Staff Historical Division. *The Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff* by Mr. Webb and Ronald H. Cole appeared in 1989. It presented an overview of the Chairman's role and biographical sketches of the Chairmen. In 1995 the Joint History Office produced a revised and expanded volume, *The Chairmanship of the Joint Chiefs of Staff*, with additional contributions by Dr. Cole, Lorna S. Jaffe, and Walter S.

Poole. It included brief biographies of the Vice Chairmen as well as the Chairmen, plus other information related to the Chairman's position. This new edition, *The Chairmanship of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1949-1999*, was prepared as part of the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the chairmanship. It contains a new introductory essay, written by Dr. Jaffe and Dr. Poole, and adds four biographical sketches by Dr. Jaffe, who managed the overall project.

The Joint History Office is grateful to *Newsweek* for permission to use John Ficara's photograph of General David C. Jones and General John W. Vessey. The Air Force History Support Office; General Officer Management Office, Office of the Chief of Staff, Department of the Army; the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs; the Public Affairs Office and the Office of Legal Counsel of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; the Information Management Division, Office of the Secretary, Joint Staff; Special Collections, the National Defense University Library; Flag Officer Management and Distribution, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations; the Naval Historical Center; the Pentagon Library; Dr. James Blaker; Senior Master Sergeant Mamie M. Burke, USAF (Ret.); Lieutenant Colonel Marilla J. Cushman, USA (Ret.); Janis Dolacky Jacobs; Colonel Mike Kendall, USA; Jean Kirk, Department of the Navy Board of Decorations and Medals; Captain Edward J. Kujat, USN; and Brigadier General Jack L. Rives, USAF, provided valuable assistance in the preparation of this edition.

This volume is an official publication of the Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, but its contents are the sole responsibility of the Joint History Office and do not necessarily represent the official position of the Chairman or the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Washington, DC
May 2000

DAVID A. ARMSTRONG
Director for Joint History

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THE ROLE OF THE CHAIRMAN



General Henry H. Shelton, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, hosts his predecessors at the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the chairmanship at the Pentagon, August 1999. *Left to right:* General Colin L. Powell; General John W. Vessey, Jr.; General David C. Jones; General Shelton; Admiral Thomas H. Moorer; General John M. Shalikashvili; Admiral William J. Crowe, Jr.

THE ROLE OF THE CHAIRMAN

The position of Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) dates from 1949. While its roots trace to the experience of directing the United States' participation in World War II, the impetus for its creation derived from the problems encountered in attempting to create a unified defense organization after the war. In the fifty years since the swearing in of General Omar N. Bradley as the first Chairman on 16 August 1949, fourteen officers have served in the position. Their influence and authority varied widely. Although General Bradley had limited statutory authority, he had considerable power because both Presidents whom he served valued his advice. Until the enactment of the Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense (DOD) Reorganization Act in October 1986, Bradley's successors, too, found that their actual power derived more from their relationships with the nation's civilian leadership than from their legal authorities. The Goldwater-Nichols Act gave the Chairman far greater power than even the most influential Chairmen had previously exercised. However, in practice, the use of that authority continued to depend upon the Chairman's personality, his concept of his role, and his relationship with the President and Secretary of Defense.

World War II: Chief of Staff to the Commander in Chief

While the position of Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff was not created until 1949, the JCS itself came into existence during World War II. The United States entered the war without any high-level organization capable of shaping global strategy and directing operations. The JCS came into being to meet this need; its creation, however, was not the result of a specific decision or plan, nor was any thought initially given to the need for a presiding officer.

Late in December 1941, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston S. Churchill met with their military advisers in Washington to plan a coordinated effort against the Axis powers, the two leaders established the Combined Chiefs of Staff (CCS) to carry out the strategic direction of the Anglo-American war effort. British representation on the CCS consisted of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, the First Sea Lord, and the Chief of the Air Staff. These officers comprised the Chiefs of Staff Committee, which had been meeting as a body for almost twenty years. Since the United States had no comparable group, the US officers whose positions and duties were closest to those of the members of the Chiefs of Staff Committee formed the US portion of the CCS. Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall represented the Army; Navy representation was shared between Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Harold R. Stark and Admiral Ernest J. King, Commander in Chief, US Fleet. General Henry H. Arnold represented the Army Air Forces but remained subordinate to General Marshall.¹

Though never formally designated by the President or any other authority, the US representatives on the CCS became the Joint Chiefs of Staff. They held their first formal meeting as the JCS on 9 February 1942. Thereafter, the Joint Chiefs of Staff assumed responsibility for the planning and strategic direction of the US war effort. A supporting organization and procedures were gradually developed to assist them in carrying out their responsibilities.

General Marshall saw the need for an impartial presiding officer, free of service responsibilities, to guide JCS deliberations and act as their spokesman with the President. Late in February he proposed that former Chief of Naval Operations Admiral William D. Leahy, then serving as ambassador to the French government at Vichy,

become "a single Chief of Staff for the President to have over both Army and Navy." Roosevelt resisted the idea, telling Marshall, "You are Chief of Staff."²

In March after Admiral Stark departed for a post in London, Admiral King became Chief of Naval Operations as well as Commander in Chief, US Fleet. Marshall became concerned that King would resent the Army's having two representatives on the JCS to the Navy's one. Again he urged the President to appoint a naval officer as chairman for the JCS. This time Roosevelt agreed. When Leahy was recalled to Washington for diplomatic consultation, Roosevelt asked him to serve as special military adviser and presiding officer of the JCS. Subsequently, Roosevelt decided upon the title "Chief of Staff to the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States." Admiral Leahy reported for duty on 20 July 1942, and the President announced his appointment the next day.

Leahy later wrote that his most important function as Roosevelt's Chief of Staff was maintaining daily liaison between the President and the JCS: "It was my job to pass on to the Joint Chiefs the basic thinking of the President on all war plans and strategy. In turn I brought back from the Joint Chiefs a consensus of their thinking."³ To carry out his responsibilities, he maintained offices in the White House as well as the War Department Building and the Pentagon. Leahy and the JCS operated throughout the war without any formal directive or terms of reference from the President. Roosevelt avoided issuing formal guidance in order to preserve the flexibility of the JCS and to extend their activities as needed.

Despite Leahy's appointment, Marshall remained the President's principal military adviser; his imprint was upon the Europe-first strategy and the decision to make a cross-Channel attack the supreme Anglo-American effort in 1944. Nevertheless, Leahy was an



Admiral William D. Leahy presides over the World War II Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1944.
Left to right: General Henry H. Arnold, Chief of the Army Air Forces; General George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff, US Army; Admiral Leahy, Chief of Staff to the Commander in Chief; and Admiral Ernest J. King, Chief of Naval Operations.

active participant in CCS debates on strategy. In November 1943, when the British proposed setting the stage for the cross-Channel attack by pressing the Italian offensive, attacking Aegean islands, bringing Turkey into the war, and supporting Balkan partisans, Leahy pointedly asked the Chief of the Imperial General Staff whether he believed that these conditions “would ever arise unless the Germans had collapsed beforehand.”⁴

Leahy has been characterized as “a handler of business” but “never the conscience of the JCS in the White House. . . .” His seniority solved what might have been an awkward

problem of precedence for other JCS members, and, when chairing meetings of the CCS, he exercised “a sometimes surprising restraint upon other [US] members of the Committee.” Moreover, his reputation protected the President against accusations of undue influence on the direction of the war by civilian advisers. However, Roosevelt did not always take Leahy’s advice. At the 1945 Yalta Conference, for example, the President asked Leahy to attend all meetings on political issues. But, despite the Chief of Staff’s reservations about the agreement reached

there, Roosevelt believed that no better arrangement was possible.⁵

Early in the presidency of Harry S Truman, Leahy's views on policy carried greater weight. His influence when the United States considered the terms for Japanese surrender in August 1945 contrasted with his lack of influence on Roosevelt at Yalta. Leahy's view that Truman should agree to preserve Japan's imperial institutions subject to the authority of the Supreme Commander Allied Powers prevailed over the advice of Secretary of State James Byrnes that the President should demand unconditional surrender without qualification.⁶

After the war, Leahy sought to restrict the JCS role in foreign policy. Late in 1946 during the civil war in China between nationalists and communists, two JCS committees drafted a recommendation to support the nationalists "by all means short of actual armed intervention." Leahy rejected the paper on the grounds that the JCS possessed "no authority or right" to communicate with their civilian superiors "on any subject that is not exclusively military in its character and purpose."⁷

Leahy was less effective in asserting his views on budget priorities. He agreed with Churchill's 1946 "iron curtain" address with its somber warning about Soviet hegemonic aims and Stalin's contempt for military weakness. But Truman kept a tight ceiling on military spending. In October 1948, when the Service Chiefs deadlocked over how to allocate the military's \$14.4 billion budget, Leahy suggested simply distributing money among the services and telling them, "This is all the money you can have. Do the best you can with it." The Service Chiefs refused, believing that they should establish priorities among missions rather than impose percentage cuts. When they could not agree about priorities, civilians made the final budget decisions.⁸

Thus, on issues affecting important service interests, Leahy had little influence.

Postwar Reorganization and a Temporary Appointment

Just as Admiral Leahy retained his position after the end of World War II, the JCS also continued without change in the early postwar years. Meanwhile, the question of the postwar organization of the armed forces became the subject of intense and sometimes acrimonious debate. The Army sought a single department of defense with one chief of staff while the Navy wanted a loose confederation of services. The National Security Act of 1947, the so-called "unification" law, represented a compromise. In addition to creating a National Military Establishment under a Secretary of Defense who was granted limited powers, it gave legal sanction to the JCS and established the Air Force as a separate service. With respect to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the act specified their responsibilities; it also authorized the Joint Staff and designated as JCS members the Army Chief of Staff, the Chief of Naval Operations, the Air Force Chief of Staff, and the Chief of Staff to the Commander in Chief "if there be one." The qualifying language reflected an understanding between the President and congressional leaders that Admiral Leahy would continue to hold the office as long as Truman desired but that no successor would be appointed.⁹

The National Security Act entered into force on 26 July 1947, and President Truman named James V. Forrestal as the first Secretary of Defense. Forrestal expected to run a small coordinating, planning, and integrating office rather than a sizable operating one. But he soon found that repeated disagreements among the Joint Chiefs over roles and missions, allocation of funds, and basic strategy

forced him to become “more of a commander than a coordinator.”¹⁰

To deal with this situation, Forrestal in the spring of 1948 asked General Omar N. Bradley, the Army Chief of Staff, to act as his “principal military adviser” in somewhat the same capacity in which Leahy served the President. But Bradley declined. When the JCS deadlocked over allocation of funds, Forrestal had to make budget decisions himself. Accordingly, in his first annual report he recommended designating a “responsible head” for the JCS, one to whom he and the President could look for the best staff assistance on those matters for which the JCS corporately were responsible.¹¹ Implementing that recommendation would require changing the National Security Act.

As a temporary expedient, Forrestal asked General Dwight D. Eisenhower, recently retired as Army Chief of Staff, to serve for a short period as presiding officer of the JCS. Eisenhower agreed, and on 11 February 1949, in anticipation of Leahy’s impending departure on 21 March, Truman announced Eisenhower’s temporary appointment as both principal military adviser and consultant to himself and Forrestal and as presiding officer of the JCS.

Between February and June, Eisenhower presided over twenty-four JCS meetings. He proposed sets of force levels that were dubbed “Ike I” and “Ike II,” but the services were unable to bring their combined request within the budget limits that Eisenhower set. Then President Truman lowered the fiscal ceiling, making agreement even harder. Late in March, Eisenhower became ill and thereafter played a much less active role. However, before relinquishing his duties in mid-July, he recommended restoring funds for strategic air power because he believed that nuclear bombardment should be the linchpin of US military strategy.¹²

Creation of the Position of Chairman

Meanwhile, examination of a more permanent solution to management of the JCS proceeded. In February 1949 the Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, headed by former President Herbert Hoover, called for a JCS chairman appointed by the President, though not from among the Chiefs, to preside over JCS meetings. On 5 March 1949 President Truman called upon Congress to convert the National Military Establishment into an executive department called the Department of Defense. His proposal included granting the Secretary of Defense added authority and providing him with military and civilian staff assistance. In addition, Truman asked for a chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to take precedence over all other military officers, be the principal military adviser to the President and Secretary of Defense, and perform such other duties as the President or the Secretary might prescribe.¹³

Senator Millard E. Tydings (D, MD), Chairman of the Armed Services Committee, introduced a bill to implement the President’s proposals. At the outset of the hearings on the bill, Secretary Forrestal stressed the need for someone to whom the President and the Secretary could look for “the organization and evaluation of military judgment.” Since each of the Chiefs directed a particular service, the problems that were common to all must be organized and JCS deliberations focused by an officer “who has a full-time preoccupation with that duty.” Appearing as a body, the Joint Chiefs supported creating the position but asked for a prohibition against the Chairman’s exercising command over either JCS members or the services. They wanted to prevent having “a single chief of staff” and to ensure that the services retained control of their own

forces. Further, they wished it clearly stated that the Chairman would serve as the principal military adviser to the President and the Secretary in his capacity as corporate spokesman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and not as an individual.¹⁴

The Senate committee revised the bill to prohibit the Chairman from exercising command over the JCS or the services but left unchanged the provision naming him principal military adviser to the President and the Secretary. The Senate adopted this version. But, in the House, Representative Carl Vinson (D, GA), Chairman of the Armed Services Committee, was sympathetic to Navy fears of centralization and worried that something akin to a Prussian general staff would dominate policy making. Influenced by Vinson, the House proposed that the corporate Joint Chiefs, not the Chairman alone, should be military advisers to the President, the Secretary, and the National Security Council (NSC) and that the Chairman should not be a member of the JCS. Testifying on behalf of all the Chiefs, General Bradley opposed excluding the Chairman from JCS membership.¹⁵

A conference committee reconciled differences. To prevent the Chairman from becoming a *de facto* chief of staff over the services, House conferees insisted that the JCS as a body and not the Chairman alone be the principal military advisers to the President, the Secretary, and the NSC. The final bill, which President Truman signed into law on 10 August 1949 as the National Security Act Amendments, reflected House concerns. It provided for a Chairman, who would be presiding officer of the JCS but have no vote. The corporate JCS would be the principal military advisers to the President, the Secretary, and the NSC, with the Chairman to inform the Secretary of Defense—and the President when appropriate—of issues about which the Chiefs could not agree. As presiding officer,

the Chairman would provide the agenda for JCS meetings and assist the Joint Chiefs “to prosecute their business as promptly as practicable.” The Chairman’s term was set at two years, with an additional two-year appointment possible; in time of war, however, there would be no limit upon the number of reappointments.¹⁶

Over the years, the prohibition against the Chairman’s voting proved to have little meaning. In practice, Chairmen gave Secretaries their own opinions whenever the Joint Chiefs had diverging or “split” views. Of far greater consequence for the Chairman’s role and impact was the fact that the JCS as a body, rather than the Chairman, were to function as the principal military advisers.

The First Chairman

On 11 August 1949 President Truman nominated General Bradley as Chairman. Senate confirmation followed quickly, and Bradley was sworn in as the first Chairman on 16 August. Almost immediately, he faced a major challenge to the role and authority of the Joint Chiefs. With increasing emphasis on nuclear bombardment as the linchpin of US military strategy in a conflict with the Soviet Union, Navy leaders feared that their service would have no place in the execution of national strategy. The Navy proposed to build a supercarrier, the *USS United States*, that could handle nuclear-capable aircraft and give its service a role in nuclear warfare. But Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson agreed with recommendations from the Army and Air Force Chiefs and on 23 April 1949 canceled construction of the planned supercarrier. Senior naval officers countered by attacking the Air Force’s B-36 bomber.

This “revolt of the admirals” prompted an investigation by the House Armed Services Committee. Navy witnesses castigated



Secretary of Defense Louis A. Johnson swears in General Omar N. Bradley as the first Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 16 August 1949.

recent strategic and budget decisions, attributing them to misapplication of the JCS system and, by inference, challenging the entire unification effort. But in JCS discussions the Navy had been striving to gain a role in nuclear war plans even while Navy spokesmen publicly denigrated the effectiveness of strategic bombing. Navy officers criticized Air Force concepts and weapons but claimed that Navy men were the best judges of their own unique business.

When General Bradley testified before the committee on 20 October, he spoke bluntly:

While listening to presentations by some Navy officers before the Joint Chiefs of

Staff, I have heard high-ranking Navy men arrive at conclusions that showed they had no conception whatsoever of land operations. This may account for the fact that in joint planning... Navy men frequently find their suggestions 'outvoted' 2 to 1. This feeling may persist until more Navy men, through the education available under unification, have a broader understanding and perspective of war. . . .

Despite protestations to the contrary, I believe that the Navy has opposed unification from the beginning, and they have not in spirit as well as in deed accepted it completely to date.¹⁷

Bradley had promised to be an unbiased Chairman, but impartiality for him did not mean minimizing differences or seeking lowest-common-denominator consensus. In this dispute, the outcome of which he deemed vital to the success of unification, he delivered a straightforward assessment of who he thought was right and who was wrong.¹⁸ President Truman replaced the Chief of Naval Operations, and the House Armed Services Committee indicated its approval of the concept of unification and, by implication, the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The controversy subsided.

In presiding over JCS meetings, Bradley acted with scrupulous neutrality. General Maxwell D. Taylor, who had occasionally attended meetings in his capacity as an Army deputy chief of staff, recalled that there were issues on which he could not tell Bradley's position: "He simply steered the debate and the argumentation." But Bradley influenced outcomes by other means. In 1951, for example, the Chiefs became deadlocked for months over an Air Force proposal for massive expansion to 140 wings. Bradley worked with Deputy Secretary of Defense Robert A. Lovett to make it clear that this scale of aircraft production would not cripple Army and Navy modernization. All of the Chiefs then accepted the 140-wing program.¹⁹

President Truman recognized his own limitations in national security affairs and relied heavily upon advisers of proven stature. Hence, as the ranking US military officer, Bradley played an important role in determining national strategy and in asserting US leadership of coalitions. In January 1952, for example, after the British had spent more than a year blocking appointment of a US officer as Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic (SACLANT), Bradley warned them, "People have come to me with inquiries as to what would be done after NATO [the North Atlantic Treaty Organization] blows up in the

spring. A reasonable segment of the country is talking about going back to isolationism."²⁰ His intervention helped bring about rapid appointment of an American admiral as SACLANT.

The Korean War was the greatest test of Bradley's impact as Chairman. He briefed the President frequently and accompanied the Secretary of Defense to NSC meetings. When General Marshall served as Secretary of Defense during 1950–1951, the fact that he and Bradley were of one mind about the conduct of the conflict increased Bradley's influence. In December 1950 after Chinese intervention in Korea, British Prime Minister Clement Attlee proposed that a committee be formed to direct the military response. Bradley observed tartly that "a war could not be run by a committee. . . . [I]f others did not like what was going on, they should say so and they would be given assistance in withdrawing."²¹ His view prevailed.

Bradley insisted that the Korean commitment be limited in size and scope because Western Europe was the main strategic arena and the Soviet Union the major adversary. In mid-January 1951, when it seemed possible that South Korea would be overrun, he opposed sending additional divisions there because "[t]here was already too much locked up there and the Far East was no place to fight a major war."²² At this critical juncture, the Chairman had to distill each service's assessment of its effectiveness and combine them in an overall strategic assessment. The Army emphasized its lack of readiness. The Air Force appraised matters largely in terms of strategic air power. The Navy, confident of its superiority at sea, had an aggressive attitude. Bradley concluded that while the United States probably would not lose a world war that began in the next two years, "we would have a hell of a time winning it." Therefore, delaying a great power confrontation in

Korea that might lead to a wider war worked in the Free World's favor.²³ When Truman dismissed General Douglas MacArthur for openly criticizing the limits placed upon his operations, Bradley proved invaluable to the President as a distinguished soldier who publicly rebutted MacArthur's argument that there was "no substitute for victory." Bradley's approach was to avoid appeasement or an all-out showdown by rearming, strengthening alliances, and pursuing limited objectives in Korea.²⁴

Bradley's imprint upon global strategy in 1950–1952 was as large as Marshall's had been during World War II. His impact, however, derived more from his own stature and reputation and the reliance on him of a President who had limited experience in national security matters than from his statutory position as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Bradley's tenure began the practice of the President and the Secretary of Defense looking to the Chairman as the spokesman for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and during the Korean War he established the precedent for the JCS Chairman's attendance at NSC meetings. His strong influence within the Truman administration did not, however, set a precedent for the Chairmen who followed him.

The Eisenhower Chairmen: Advocates and Exemplars

No President has equaled Dwight D. Eisenhower in his experience with military affairs and foreign policy. Consequently, the Chairmen who served under him had to establish their influence by different means than Bradley had done under Truman. Bradley served his final seven months under Eisenhower, who, inevitably, was less deferential to the Chairman's judgment than Truman had been. In late March 1953 Bradley argued strongly before the NSC against major

budget reductions. His argument prevailed for the short term, but changes were in the offing.²⁵

Soon after assuming office, Eisenhower tried to strengthen the Chairman's position. On 30 April 1953 the President issued an executive order reorganizing the Defense Department. When Congress did not reject his plan during the sixty days allowed for its consideration, Reorganization Plan No. 6 took effect on 30 June. It gave the Chairman responsibility for managing the work of the Joint Staff and its director and made the selection of members of the Joint Staff subject to his approval. The President hoped that the latter step would ensure the selection of officers who could rise above service partisanship to focus on national planning and strategy.²⁶

So, too, in selecting Bradley's successors, President Eisenhower focused on their capacity to be exemplars of jointness, setting examples of broad-gauged judgment that he hoped would lead the services away from parochialism. Unsurprisingly, Eisenhower defined a broad-gauged officer as one who held the same views about policy and strategy that he did. A Chairman, therefore, had to be an advocate for the President. But, not infrequently, the Chairman's work as an advocate undercut his effectiveness as an exemplar of jointness. Chiefs who found their services assigned lower priority under Eisenhower's "New Look" with its emphasis on the primacy of nuclear weapons did not emulate the Chairman's example. There were recurring "splits," as JCS disagreements were termed, over major issues. In these circumstances, Chairmen began bypassing the JCS forum and working out solutions with the Secretary of Defense.

Upon Bradley's retirement on 15 August 1953, Admiral Arthur W. Radford, became Chairman. As Commander in Chief (CINC), Pacific, Radford had accompanied Eisenhower

on a trip to Japan and Korea in December 1952 and had favorably impressed the president-elect. Radford's Pacific experience complemented Eisenhower's expertise in European matters. Yet he seemed a surprising choice. In 1949 during the "revolt of the admirals" Radford had testified before Congress that he believed a nuclear threat could not deter war and an atomic blitz could not win one. In 1953, however, he agreed with Eisenhower that planning for the long pull meant keeping military spending within strict limits. Radford therefore deemed it "obvious that the organization that would evolve would have to be heavy in air power (both Air Force and Navy) and that the other services . . . would have to adjust to organizations that could be fleshed out rapidly in case of emergency. . . . In short, after the deterrent forces were decided upon, almost every other activity had to give to a certain extent."²⁷ Thus, in a fairly quick transformation, Radford as Chairman became the leading military advocate of "massive retaliation."

Recurring disputes between the Army and the Air Force and between Army Chiefs of Staff and the Chairman marked Radford's tenure. Under Eisenhower's "New Look" program, the Army took the largest cuts and the Air Force the least. The sharpest JCS split occurred during 1956. Preparation of a Joint Strategic Objectives Plan (JSOP), JSOP-60, delineating requirements for 1960-1963, led to many disagreements. Radford concluded that the services' force recommendations were not attainable under any realistic budgetary assumptions. He drafted a proposal to reduce overseas Army forces to small nuclear-armed task forces and drastically pare tactical air as well as air- and sealift forces. General Taylor, now Army Chief of Staff, vehemently objected. Leaked to the press, Radford's proposal drew such opposition that he did not pursue it. Instead, the Chairman took another path to attain part of his goal. In 1957, when

the Chiefs again deadlocked over force levels, Admiral Radford sent Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson his own recommendations for less dramatic reductions. Wilson endorsed the Chairman's proposals, and the President approved them, thereby underscoring the civilian leadership's acceptance of the Chairman as principal military adviser in the area of force structure.²⁸

In dealing with foreign crises, however, the President often did not accept Radford's advice. In 1954, for example, when the French faced defeat in Southeast Asia, the Chairman recommended US air strikes against the Viet Minh forces encircling Dien Bien Phu. His recommendation did not, however, have the support of the Service Chiefs, who either disagreed or attached major conditions to any intervention. Eisenhower insisted upon, among other things, congressional approval and participation by major US allies. When these conditions were not met, he decided against intervention.

Then, early in 1955, when the Chinese communists threatened to attack the "off-shore islands" of Quemoy and Matsu and then to invade Taiwan, Eisenhower again did not follow Radford's advice. The Chairman appeared almost eager for a fight. Convinced that the communists would have the worst of it, he outlined to the NSC his own plan for anticipating an imminent attack on the off-shore islands by dropping atomic weapons on mainland airfields and fuel storage sites. If the communists responded to what Radford characterized as "limited" US attacks by widening hostilities beyond the Taiwan area, broader US air and naval action would be necessary. In sum, communist preparations to

Admiral Arthur W. Radford emerges from the JCS area, 1954.



invade Quemoy and Matsu would provide the pretext for attacking China. The Secretary of State voiced considerable concern about the political repercussions of using atomic weapons. Believing, correctly, that additional air and naval deployments would be enough to deter a communist attack, President Eisenhower rejected Radford's approach.

Again, in 1956, after Egypt's President Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal Company, Eisenhower did not take Radford's advice although this time the Chairman had the support of the Service Chiefs. Radford favored military action to retake the canal on grounds that Nasser was "trying to be another Hitler." The President, however, saw no legal, moral, or strategic justification for military action. He strongly opposed the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt and pressured the British and the French to halt and then withdraw. In the aftermath, Radford argued that, with their move into Syria, the Soviets "were likely to encourage the Syrians to attack Israel." Eisenhower responded more presciently than he expected the Soviets to "play their game short of anything which would induce the United States to declare war on them."²⁹

Clearly, the President distinguished between Admiral Radford as an advocate of the "New Look," in which capacity he met Eisenhower's needs, and as an adviser during crises, where he was too aggressive for the President. Clearly, too, in his conception of the Chairman's functions, Eisenhower considered the former role to be much more important. Radford retired in mid-August 1957. Two years later, while his successor was recuperating from surgery, Eisenhower brought Radford back as a civilian consultant.³⁰

General Nathan F. Twining, USAF, who succeeded Radford as Chairman on 15 August 1957, was also a "New Look" advocate but did not arouse such strong

opposition from the Service Chiefs or offer such bellicose advice during crises. During Twining's tenure, the Chairman acquired new statutory authority, which, however, was more apparent than real. On 3 April 1958 the President sent Congress proposals for reorganizing the Defense Department. "Separate ground, sea, and air warfare is gone forever," he said; "strategic and tactical planning must be completely unified." He called for organizing all combat forces into unified commands, "singly led and prepared to fight as one, regardless of Service," and for clear command channels to these commands. Eisenhower judged the JCS concept "essentially sound" and wanted no changes in JCS composition or functions. He did ask that the statutory limit on the Joint Staff's size—210 personnel—be removed and that the Chairman be given authority to assign duties to the Joint Staff and, with the Secretary of Defense's approval, to select the Director of the Joint Staff. He also asked for elimination of the prohibition against the Chairman's voting.³¹

Testifying in support of the President's proposals, General Twining asked the members of the House Armed Services Committee, "Did any of you ever try to manage an activity without having the authority to assign work to it?" Under current law, Twining said, he would have to call a meeting of the Chiefs every time the Secretary asked him to look into a matter. Technically, this was true, but, in practice, a Chairman often would take the initiative in assigning work to the Joint Staff and later secure the Service Chiefs' approval. Moreover, Twining testified, since the Director acted as "a sort of chief of staff" to the Chairman, the two men needed to have harmonious relations. Twining dismissed as meaningless the Chairman's acquiring a vote: "Every knowledgeable person is aware that we do not vote in Joint Chiefs of Staff deliberation. If we did, the majority view could stifle any minority dis-



General Nathan F. Twining with his JCS colleagues, 1957. *Left to right:* General Thomas D. White, Chief of Staff, USAF; General Maxwell D. Taylor, Chief of Staff, USA; General Twining; Admiral Arleigh A. Burke, Chief of Naval Operations; and General Randolph McC. Pate, Commandant, USMC.

senting view. Therefore, we do not vote and we do not intend to start voting.”³² While it was true that the JCS did not formally vote, all the Chiefs nevertheless carefully tallied which positions garnered the most support.³³

Congress approved the President’s proposals, and the DOD Reorganization Act entered into force on 6 August 1958. It authorized the Joint Staff—raised to four hundred officers—to perform such duties as the Chairman prescribed, allowed the Chairman “in

consultation with the Joint Chiefs of Staff" to select the Director, and removed the restriction against the Chairman's voting. The impact of these changes, however, proved less than expected. The Chairman's main problem lay not in assigning tasks but in bringing issues to decision; a service's objections still could cause indefinite delays. The more consequential reform was that making the operational chain of command run from the President and Secretary of Defense directly to the unified and specified commanders rather than through the military departments. As the result of this change, the JCS and the Joint Staff began acting as the military staff to the Secretary in his direction of the unified and specified commands. Ties between the Chairman and the commanders of the unified and specified commands grew steadily stronger.³⁴

In some respects, General Twining proved more useful to the President than Admiral Radford had been. Late in 1957 the launching of the Soviet satellite, "Sputnik," aroused fears that the Soviet Union was winning the race to deploy intercontinental ballistic missiles. For the first time, Eisenhower faced widespread criticism on a military issue. Members of Congress and some senior Air Force officers lobbied for a huge crash program to close the alleged "missile gap." The President thought that this was wasteful and unnecessary. Twining agreed with Eisenhower, who needed support from an Air Force general to hold down defense spending. Similarly, during the 1959 Berlin confrontation with the Soviets, Twining distanced himself from the Service Chiefs and endorsed Eisenhower's judgment that a major mobilization was unnecessary.

As JCS presiding officer, Twining handled interservice budget disputes in a manner that was assertive but less abrasive than that of his predecessor. Late in 1959 after the JCS had discussed force levels for two weeks

without reaching agreement, the Chairman forced the pace by writing to the Service Chiefs:

I believe that the Secretary has provided...adequate information for us to proceed. I intend that we proceed expeditiously now; failing that, I can assure you that the Joint Chiefs of Staff, as a corporate body, will not be in a very strong position to comment on the Secretary's final action, having failed to provide the Secretary with advice or assistance in his deliberations leading to final action. He has requested this of us, and has given us every reasonable opportunity to furnish him sound military advice in support of a military budget that could be subjected to drastic curtailments in a period of financial stringency.³⁵

As a result, the JCS reached agreement on major issues several days later.

In one important area, however, neither Radford nor Twining fulfilled Eisenhower's hopes for a Chairman who could lead the Service Chiefs to focus on the broader aspects of their jobs rather than narrow service interests. Early in his tenure, Radford had realized that the President's expectations would not be met. He found the Service Chiefs unwilling to delegate the management of their services to their vice chiefs so that they could concentrate on their national planning responsibilities, which, by default, gravitated to the Chairman.³⁶ Eisenhower, too, reached the conclusion that while Radford and Twining had risen to be broad-gauged Chairmen, the Service Chiefs remained mired in service parochialism. In July 1959 the President complained that he could not "figure out what is causing the trouble in the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The organization seems to be failing to do its job."³⁷ All the services laid claim to an intermediate-range ballistic missile, while

the Army and the Air Force quarreled over responsibility for surface-to-air missiles as well as the place of Army aviation.

An August 1960 White House meeting to deal with strategic nuclear targeting and planning showed how deep the divisions ran. The Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Arleigh A. Burke, proposed that the new Single Integrated Operational Plan (SIOP) be prepared strictly on a trial basis. Twining countered that "the crux of the problem is as it has been for nearly twenty years, that the Navy is completely opposed to serving under a single commander. . . . General Twining said he would have to speak frankly and say that if it were announced that this effort were a trial effort, the Navy would sabotage it." Twining felt that he confronted roughly the same challenge that Bradley had faced eleven years earlier. The Navy's objections to a detailed SIOP prepared by a Joint Strategic Target Planning Staff failed because Twining and Secretary of Defense Thomas S. Gates worked out a solution which fit the President's objectives.³⁸ In this case, as throughout the Eisenhower presidency, the Chairman's effectiveness derived from his identification with the policies of his civilian superiors, not from his ability to elicit cooperation among the services.

In making his last appointment as Chairman, Eisenhower chose Army Chief of Staff General Lyman L. Lemnitzer, who, in the President's judgment, had been less parochial than his two predecessors in that post. Lemnitzer became Chairman on 1 October 1960. His association with Eisenhower dated to the 1942 North African operation, and he and the President easily adjusted to each other. Less than four months later, however, Lemnitzer found himself working in a completely different environment.

The 1960s: Civilian Encroachment

In 1961 President John F. Kennedy replaced the Eisenhower administration's strategy of relying on massive nuclear retaliation with the strategy of flexible response, particularly emphasizing counterinsurgency capabilities. Kennedy also dismantled much of the NSC's formal decision-making apparatus, depending more upon improvisation and informality. Accustomed to working through established mechanisms, Lemnitzer did not adjust quickly.

Poor communication between the President and the Chiefs contributed to the Bay of Pigs disaster in April 1961. The Central Intelligence Agency had organized, trained, and equipped a group of anti-communist exiles to invade Cuba. After the JCS reviewed the invasion plans, the President made important changes without consulting the Chiefs. The invasion failed. Lemnitzer had not taken into account Kennedy's style, in which decisions were subject to change up until the moment of execution. Unfamiliar with the restrained language of JCS memorandums, Kennedy felt that the Chiefs had not been clear enough in expressing their reservations about the invasion plans. On both sides there was a residue of bitterness. Lemnitzer's standing at the White House dropped sharply. Further eroding the Chairman's influence, President Kennedy recalled General Maxwell Taylor to serve in the White House as Military Representative of the President to carry out an "advisory function in the fields of intelligence and of Cold War planning, with particular attention to Berlin and Southeast Asia."³⁹

To set out exactly what he expected of the JCS, Kennedy on 28 June 1961 issued National Security Action Memorandum (NSAM) 55. In it he stated that he regarded the Chiefs in



General Lyman L. Lemnitzer with his JCS colleagues, 1961. *Left to right:* Admiral George W. Anderson, Jr., Chief of Naval Operations; General George H. Decker, Chief of Staff, USA; General Lemnitzer; General Curtis E. LeMay, Chief of Staff, USAF; and General David M. Shoup, Commandant, USMC.

their capacity as his principal military advisers as responsible for both initiating advice to him and responding to requests. He wanted to receive their views “direct and unfiltered.” While he looked to the Chiefs to present the military factors “without reserve or hesitation,” he also expected them to be “more than military men” and to help fit military requirements into the overall context of any situation.⁴⁰

Although Taylor was not interposed between the President and the Chiefs, his hand was evident in some matters that normally would have fallen under the Chairman’s purview. In the autumn of 1961 Taylor made a fact-finding tour of South Vietnam

and recommended major increases in US assistance there, which the President approved. At the height of the Berlin confrontation, Taylor drafted, and Kennedy signed, a paper that asked the Chiefs what sending six more divisions to Europe would accomplish. Their replies revealed a previously hidden split. Lemnitzer emphasized the advantages of a major non-nuclear reinforcement; the Navy, Air Force, and Marine Chiefs disagreed. Taylor then participated in discussions with the JCS that led to a decision for moderate deployments.⁴¹

Lemnitzer’s influence also was increasingly circumscribed by the managerial innovations

of Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara. Civilian systems analysts closely scrutinized every aspect of strategy and force planning. While Secretary Gates had confined himself to working out the concept of the SIOP, McNamara set about matching types of nuclear weapons with types of targets. McNamara's Draft Presidential Memoranda (DPM), containing force recommendations buttressed by elaborate supporting rationales, grew in number from two in 1961 to sixteen by 1968. In contrast, the vehicle for the Joint Chiefs' recommendations, the JSOP, remained a very imperfect instrument. Preparation of JSOP-67's force tables was suspended amid interservice disputes five months after it had begun in September 1961. In June 1962 Lemnitzer suggested a compromise, but it failed to win acceptance. Two months later he circulated another set of compromises and this time won JCS approval. By then, however, McNamara had circulated his own Five-Year Program. Moreover, JSOP-67's force tables were neither arranged according to the Office of the Secretary of Defense's (OSD) new "program package" format nor accompanied by supporting rationales.⁴² Since JSOP-67 did not speak the Secretary's language, it had no noticeable impact. Lemnitzer sought a partial remedy by creating the Chairman's Special Studies Group, which came to play a significant role in defining JCS positions but was less successful in winning OSD's approval of them.

Lemnitzer put a premium on experience and expertise. His difficulty in working with those members of the administration whom he considered ignorant as well as arrogant reduced his effectiveness both as JCS spokesman to the President and the Secretary and as the President's representative to the Chiefs. President Kennedy did not appoint him to a second term as Chairman, instead nominating him to be Supreme Allied Commander, Europe. Lemnitzer's two-year term

as Chairman ended on 30 September 1962. Apparently fearing further civilian encroachment on what he regarded as JCS functions, he made a public plea that the JCS system not be changed. He contended that disagreement among the Chiefs was a strength because it provided civilian authorities with reasoned alternatives on complex military issues.⁴³

On 1 October 1962 General Taylor moved from the White House to the chairmanship. In 1959 Taylor had criticized the JCS system and called for replacing it with a single chief of staff plus an advisory system for policy matters. During the 1962 hearings on his nomination, however, he assured senators that he returned not as a crusader for change but as someone who wanted to see how the current system would work with a new team in a new atmosphere. As Army Chief of Staff, Taylor had often crossed swords with Admiral Radford, objecting to Radford's role as an advocate for administration policies. Here, too, he changed his mind. As he wrote in his memoir:

With the opportunity to observe the problems of the President at closer range, I have come to understand the importance of an intimate, easy relationship, born of friendship and mutual regard, between the President and the Chiefs. It is particularly important in the case of the Chairman, who works more closely with the President and the Secretary of Defense than do the Service Chiefs. The Chairman should be a true believer in the foreign policy and military strategy of the administration which he serves or, at least, feel that he and his colleagues are assured an attentive hearing on those matters for which the Joint Chiefs of Staff have a responsibility.

Put another way, Taylor had objected to what Radford was advocating, not to the fact of advocacy. He also had resented what he felt were Radford's attempts to impose consensus



General Maxwell D. Taylor, with his four predecessors, when he was sworn in as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1 October 1962. *Left to right: General Bradley, Admiral Radford, General Twining, General Lemnitzer, and General Taylor.*

upon the Chiefs or at least attain it by compromise. Taylor told McNamara that dissents would be reported forthrightly, and the Secretary assured him that the Chiefs would always have their "day in court."⁴⁴

When the Cuban missile crisis erupted two weeks after Taylor took office, the Executive Committee of the NSC (EXCOMM) became the main forum for debate and decision. As a mem-

ber of the EXCOMM, Taylor presented the corporate JCS views in its meetings. Since the EXCOMM spent more time discussing diplomatic solutions than military plans, he listened far more than he spoke. But the Chairman's critical function, as the President saw it, was ensuring that the Service Chiefs faithfully carried out Kennedy's decisions. Taylor told them that the President, after rejecting their recommendation



General Maxwell D. Taylor and Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara in the National Military Command Center, 1963.

for a surprise air attack in favor of a quarantine, had said, "I know that you and your colleagues are unhappy with the decision, but I trust that you will support me in this decision," and that the Chairman had "assured him that we were against the decision but would back him completely." After the crisis ended, Kennedy privately expressed a "forceful . . . lack of admiration" for the Service Chiefs but called Taylor "absolutely first class."⁴⁵

General Taylor's role during the missile crisis—a corporate spokesman advocating

steps that civilian authorities rejected—proved to be an anomaly. Rather, Taylor saw himself principally as the agent of his civilian superiors, supporting their policies and working to garner JCS support for them. His role during arms control discussions offers the best example. The JCS consistently opposed a treaty with the Soviet Union banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, outer space, and under water. On 16 July 1963, just after US negotiators arrived in Moscow, the Chiefs approved but did not forward to Secretary

McNamara a statement that the proposed treaty contained such significant military disadvantages that only overriding nonmilitary considerations could render it in the national interest. Eight days later, after a treaty had been initialed, Kennedy asked the Chiefs to "base their position on the broadest political considerations." Taylor led the way in doing so. He drafted a statement wherein the JCS would endorse a treaty, subject to important safeguards, and then persuaded the Service Chiefs to agree.⁴⁶

Unlike his immediate predecessor, Taylor admired Secretary McNamara and saw much merit in his methods. Accordingly, in 1963 the Chairman insisted that JSOP-68 contain supporting rationales comparable to those in the Draft Presidential Memoranda. Then, in 1964, JSOP-69 added "situational analyses" using war-gaming techniques to estimate requirements. But the services split over force recommendations, and added analyses swelled the JSOP to daunting size. Thus, despite Taylor's efforts, the JSOP still had only marginal influence.

When the Secretary employed an index of combat effectiveness to compare the conventional capabilities of NATO with those of the Warsaw Pact, Taylor pointed out that the mathematical calculations underpinning McNamara's DPMS had their limits. The Secretary had extrapolated that Western Europe could be defended without resorting to nuclear weapons. The Chairman commented, "If as most soldiers believe, 'in war the moral is to the physical as three is to one,' only about a fourth of the determinants of victory are susceptible to the coefficient approach and they are variables undergoing constant change."⁴⁷ But McNamara made only modest revisions to his DPMS, and by 1964 OSD had supplanted the JCS and the services as the shaper of nuclear and conventional force structure.

During the spring of 1964, the planning of an air campaign against North Vietnam put Taylor in an uncomfortable position. He tried to reconcile the civilians' attraction to the application of graduated pressure, more deterrent than destructive at the outset, with the Service Chiefs' conviction that a swift, hard blow was best. Some Service Chiefs saw Taylor as more an adversary than a colleague, suspecting him of misrepresenting or at least toning down their criticism of civilian strategy. Taylor proposed attacking "some significant part of the military target system in North Vietnam. . . ." Before the issue was resolved, however, President Lyndon B. Johnson sent Taylor to Saigon as the US Ambassador, in the belief that Taylor's reputation would prevent Vietnam from becoming a partisan issue during the election campaign.⁴⁸ Evidently, Taylor's civilian superiors valued him less for his advice than for the credibility that his presence gave to their policies. Whereas Radford had been an advocate of the "New Look" but differed with Eisenhower on other points, Taylor acted as the advocate for two Presidents across a broad spectrum of issues.

By the time that General Earle G. Wheeler, USA, became Chairman on 3 July 1964, a tour as Chairman, with its frequent dealings with senior officials, gave the officer who held that position a unique store of knowledge and a set of relationships that no Service Chief could equal. For almost six years the operational chain of command had run from the Secretary directly to the unified and specified commanders. Moreover, the Service Chiefs and Service Secretaries had largely ceased acting as "executive agents" for the JCS and the Secretary of Defense. Now the stream of information from the field came directly to the Chairman. General Wheeler's file for one month of Vietnam message traffic sometimes exceeded General Bradley's file of messages between Washington and Tokyo

during the entire first year of the Korean War. Over time, the change in contact with field commanders had brought about a significant power shift. No longer could a Service Chief influence the outcome of JCS discussions to the extent that General J. Lawton Collins had during 1950–1952, when, as Army Chief of Staff, he had acted as executive agent for the JCS in the conduct of the Korean War. What the services lost, the Secretary of Defense and the Chairman gained. If the Chiefs were to stay abreast of developments, the Chairman had to keep them informed. In his dealings with the Chiefs, the Chairman had been strengthened.

Despite this accretion of power, Wheeler, in contrast to Taylor, valued JCS collegiality and worked to hold the Service Chiefs' confidence by keeping them fully informed about what transpired at high-level meetings. He saw himself as a corporate spokesman, charged with persuading civilians to accept military advice. Wheeler also differed with the Taylor approach to splits. By 1965, after there had been a major turnover in JCS membership, the Chairman and the Chiefs decided that their advice might carry greater weight with the Secretary of Defense and the President if it were an agreed position. Accordingly, they began a conscious effort to resolve disagreements rather than sending them to the Secretary for decision; the number of JCS splits dropped sharply. Unanimity did not, however, bring a noticeable increase in JCS influence, and Wheeler became increasingly frustrated and disappointed with his lack of influence with his superiors.⁴⁹

To outsiders, General Wheeler seemed a member of the Johnson administration's inner circle. Like President Kennedy, Johnson preferred informal advisory groups to the formal NSC system. As US involvement in Vietnam grew, General Wheeler went more and more frequently to the White House. He was

included in the small group that advised the President on key decisions in the war, and from October 1967 he regularly attended the President's Tuesday lunch meetings of senior officials at the White House, where important policy issues were discussed. He consulted the Chiefs before meetings with the President and reported to them "practically verbatim" what had occurred. Therefore, according to Wheeler, the Chiefs were not unhappy with this procedure and were satisfied to rely on him as their representative to the President.⁵⁰ But Wheeler's access did not equate to influence. Working against him were Secretary McNamara's assertiveness and self-confidence and the trust that the President placed in the Secretary.

The conduct of the war in Southeast Asia was the major issue of contention between the JCS and the civilian leadership. In late 1964 Wheeler united the Chiefs in recommending a hard, swift blow against North Vietnam with air strikes against ninety-four targets in about one month. On 1 December 1964 he presented the JCS case at the White House. Johnson, however, followed McNamara's prescription for the application of graduated pressure through Operation ROLLING THUNDER. As a result, some of the targets were not struck until 1966 or 1967; a few still remained untouched when ROLLING THUNDER ended in October 1968. During the spring and summer of 1965, another difference arose over the introduction of US ground combat troops. "I have a very definite limitation on commitment in mind," McNamara told the President, "and I don't think the Chiefs do. In fact, I know they don't." Although the buildup reached 549,500 by 1968, it was smaller in size and slower-paced than the military wished.⁵¹

Increasingly, Wheeler found himself acting as the implementer of civilian decisions that he did not support. Johnson characterized him as "a good soldier," who would "follow

[his] Commander in Chief. . . . He is loyal to McNamara and me—but has convictions.” Continually carrying out decisions with which he disagreed undermined Wheeler’s standing with the Secretary as an advocate of stronger measures. In December 1965, for example, civilian leaders debated whether to suspend bombing of North Vietnam to test the chance of entering negotiations with Hanoi. When the President asked McNamara, “Is this what you want to explore with the Chiefs?” the Secretary replied, “The Chiefs will be totally opposed. . . . We decide what we want and impose it on them.” In August 1967, as popular opposition to the war mounted and McNamara recommended curtailing the bombing, Wheeler testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee. He argued against scaling back the bombing on grounds that “the air campaign is going well . . . achieving its objectives,”⁵² but his claim undercut the Chiefs’ argument for intensifying ROLLING THUNDER.

The 1968 JCS debate over appointing a “single manager” for tactical air assets in South Vietnam’s I Corps Tactical Zone—among the most acrimonious of Wheeler’s tenure—overtaxed the Chairman’s ability to maintain collegiality and achieve corporate consensus. The field commander, General William C. Westmoreland, USA, wished his Air Force deputy to have operational control over all Air Force and Marine fixed-wing aircraft there. Not only did the Commandant of the Marine Corps vehemently and repeatedly object to such a move, but the Army and Navy Chiefs opposed Westmoreland’s proposal. Wheeler recommended supporting Westmoreland because it would be “militarily unsound” to dictate to a senior field commander how his forces should be organized and commanded but also considering the single manager an “expedient” due for review when the tactical emergency ended. The Deputy

Secretary of Defense approved Wheeler’s compromise, but the Marines continued to object and, through local arrangements, regained practical control of their aviation assets.⁵³ Thus, the Chairman’s attempt to maintain collegiality failed, and his solution was thwarted in the field.

When the shock of the 1968 Tet offensive increased domestic opposition to the war, Wheeler remained committed to an independent, noncommunist South Vietnam. He recommended large-scale mobilization, rebuilding the strategic reserve, sizable reinforcement of South Vietnam, and intensified bombing of the North. Instead, the President approved a small reserve callup, a modest deployment to Vietnam, and a major cutback of bombing. As he prepared to announce decisions that went against JCS advice, Johnson sought to minimize the differences, and Wheeler went along:

President Johnson: “With the exception of a few bombing targets, General Wheeler, General Westmoreland, Secretary McNamara, Secretary Clifford and State are in general agreement about the conduct of the war?”

GEN Wheeler: “Yes.”⁵⁴

Despite his differences with Wheeler, Johnson requested special legislation to extend the Chairman’s tenure, and in June 1968 Wheeler was extended for a year beyond the statutory four-year limit of his term.⁵⁵ Wheeler now saw his task as opposing those civilians who wanted to withdraw quickly from Vietnam and accept defeat. He worked with field commanders to paint a picture of battlefield success. By doing so, however, he paved the way for a total bombing halt leading to peace talks, which he believed had no chance of success.

When Richard M. Nixon became President in January 1969, he reinstituted a struc-



General Earle G. Wheeler at a press conference in Saigon, 1969.

tured NSC apparatus. General Wheeler represented the JCS at NSC meetings and was a member of the Washington Special Actions Group (WSAG), the administration's crisis management body. In contrast to McNamara's centralization of control, Nixon's Secretary of Defense, Melvin R. Laird, returned some functions to the services and appeared receptive to JCS advice. Laird admired Wheeler's emphasis on collegiality, which meshed with the Secretary's own approach, and later rated Wheeler as one of the

strongest Chairmen in his public experience. At Secretary Laird's urging, Nixon obtained another extension to Wheeler's tenure, giving him an unprecedented sixth year.⁵⁶ But the Chairman's influence remained marginal. Despite his participation in the administration's senior groups, Wheeler was not a member of the President's inner circle of advisers, and his views on the prosecution of the war were at odds with the administration's.

The Chiefs had endorsed a bombing halt on the understanding that bombing would

resume if the communists failed to show restraint. When the communists launched a new round of attacks early in 1969, Wheeler recommended an intensive, sustained air campaign against North Vietnam. Instead, Nixon ordered unannounced bombing of enemy sanctuaries in Cambodia. Determined to Vietnamize the war through phased US withdrawals, the President directed larger and faster pullouts than the Chiefs advised. Nonetheless, early in 1970 Wheeler testified before Congress that Vietnamization had "gone well. . . . If we proceed patiently. . . we will, eventually, achieve our objectives in Southeast Asia."⁵⁷ His recommendations rejected by both the Johnson and Nixon administrations, Wheeler was worn down by the constant tension between loyalty and conviction. He greeted his successor in the spring of 1970 with the words, "You'll never survive!"⁵⁸

Nixon's National Security Adviser, Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, later offered a perceptive analysis of Wheeler's dilemma in his final year:

He believed, rightly, that military advice had not been taken seriously enough in the Pentagon of the Sixties, but when the time came to present an alternative he offered no more than marginal adjustments of the status quo. He prized his direct access to the new President, but he rarely used it. . . .

High military officers must always strike a balance between their convictions and their knowledge that to be effective they must survive to fight another day. Their innate awe of the Commander-in-Chief tempts them to find a military reason for what they consider barely tolerable. . . . They rarely challenge the Commander-in-Chief; they seek for excuses to support, not to oppose him. In this manner Wheeler had participated in a series of decisions any one of which he was able to defend, but the

cumulative impact of which he could not really justify to himself.⁵⁹

The 1970s: Dealing with the Impact of Vietnam

Admiral Thomas H. Moorer, who became Chairman on 2 July 1970, had been Chief of Naval Operations during the last three years of Wheeler's chairmanship and thus had firsthand knowledge of the operation of the JCS system during some of the most difficult years of his predecessor's tenure. At his nomination hearing Moorer gave his views on the Chairman's role within the corporate system. He testified that while the Chairman should not hesitate to express his own opinions on issues before the Chiefs, he must prepare the agenda and manage the Joint Staff in a way that encouraged full consideration of opposing points of view. The "melding of different service views into strategic guidance and policy" were, he declared, "not evils to be abolished but . . . healthy values to be preserved."⁶⁰ In times of crisis, however, Moorer frequently exercised his authority in a manner quite different from the approach that he had espoused before his confirmation.

Moorer was not willing to confine himself to the role of corporate spokesman. Selected as Chairman on Secretary Laird's recommendation, he developed a close working relationship with Dr. Kissinger. This, together with the confidence placed in him by the Secretary, allowed Moorer to exert considerable control over operational matters. Admiral Moorer sometimes acted on behalf of the JCS, informing the Service Chiefs only afterward—if at all. During the March 1971 Lam Son 719 operation into Laos, the spring 1972 invasion of South Vietnam, and the October 1973 Arab-Israeli War, the National Command Authorities (NCA) and the NSC



Admiral Thomas H. Moorer with President Richard M. Nixon aboard the USS *Saratoga*.

were in direct telephone contact with the Chairman several times a day to get the latest operational information and to relay directions, which Moorer carried out without informing the Chiefs in advance. It was, he said, "the only practical way" to proceed when dealing "in real time."⁶¹

During most of his first term Moorer, like Wheeler, frequently found himself at odds with the administration's approach to the conduct of the Vietnam War. But by 1972 President Nixon was ready to use unprecedented

military pressure against North Vietnam as Moorer and the Chiefs had long advocated. The Chairman was instrumental in the implementation of this new approach. On a number of occasions he deflected the President's demands to deploy more B-52s and hit more targets than Moorer thought necessary. Moreover, during North Vietnam's spring 1972 offensive and the B-52 bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong in December 1972, Moorer was in direct contact with the senior air commander

in Vietnam about operational procedures and decisions.

Moorer repeatedly expressed his concerns about administration and congressional reductions in JCS recommendations for future conventional force structure. He believed that, in the post-Vietnam era, air and sea capabilities had to be the primary means of projecting US power and persuaded the President to accept his views on the need for a balanced conventional force structure. In September 1970, when the White House proposed keeping the Army at 16½ divisions but cutting tactical air, anti-submarine warfare, and amphibious forces, the Chairman advised that an undesirable force mix would result because the Army required tactical air support and protected sea lanes for resupply. As a result, the proposed strength of the Army shrank to 13½ divisions.⁶²

During the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) in the spring of 1972, Moorer played a somewhat anomalous role, using his influence with the Chiefs to win their support for a presidential position which he had previously opposed. Knowing that the President intended to agree to terms which ran counter to JCS views, Dr. Kissinger was nevertheless confident that he could "deliver the Joint Chiefs" because he had "worked on Moorer all week." When the JCS balked at the terms that Nixon and Kissinger had negotiated in Moscow, the President and his National Security Adviser relayed to Moorer their "grievous distress" over JCS opposition. The Chairman told the Chiefs that the choice lay between saying no and saying that compromise was better than no treaty at all. The Chiefs agreed to "acquiesce" and then, under presidential prodding, declared themselves "in accord."⁶³ Apparently won over by Kissinger, Moorer persuaded the Chiefs to agree to terms they had initially opposed. The JCS had wanted equality in offensive launchers but accepted

Soviet superiority in launchers because of the offsetting US lead in warheads.

Not only did the Chairman's influence increase during Moorer's tenure, but administrative action strengthened his position within the corporate JCS. In December 1971 Secretary Laird revised the World-Wide Military Command and Control System so that the channel of communications for execution of the SIOP and other time-sensitive operations ran from the NCA through the Chairman representing the Chiefs—rather than through the corporate JCS—to the executing commanders. But at the same time that the power of the chairmanship had been enhanced, there was widespread disillusionment with the military.

Moorer's successor, General George S. Brown, USAF, came to the position well-versed in its political dimensions and its responsibilities. He was the first Chairman whose service had prepared him for the job by arranging assignments as Military Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, a position in which he served both Gates and McNamara, and as Assistant to the Chairman under General Wheeler. Brown functioned well within the JCS system. He emphasized collegiality in working with the Service Chiefs and kept himself unusually well-informed about everything being done within the Joint Staff by meeting almost daily with the directorate heads and usually having lunch with the Director.

But General Brown served during a particularly difficult period for the United States and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Five weeks after he became Chairman on 1 July 1974, President Nixon resigned and Gerald Ford became President. Nine months later, South Vietnam surrendered to North Vietnam, marking the failure of the twenty-five year US effort to maintain a free and independent South Vietnam. Continuing public and congressional frustration with the outcome of the Vietnam War and with the military was reflected in diminished



General George S. Brown with Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld, 1976.

confidence in military leaders and in tighter defense budgets.

Further complicating his tenure, General Brown had a penchant for remarks that embarrassed him and the administration. During a public appearance in October 1974 he referred to the undue influence of Jews and the Israeli lobby in the United States. An outcry ensued, and President Ford publicly admonished him. Brown apologized but, in

an interview published two years later, made comments that seemed disparaging of Britain, Israel, and Iran. While he later claimed that he had intended no criticism, his reputation as a Chairman who spoke first and considered the consequences later was not easily corrected. Thus Brown's service during the Ford administration was rocky. The Senate vote to confirm him for a second term was only 57-34.⁶⁴

The Chairman's relationship with the administration of Jimmy Carter, who became President in January 1977, was even more uneasy. The President's approach to national security issues differed fundamentally from that of the JCS. Carter downplayed the role of military power in foreign policy and wished to lower the defense budget and reduce nuclear arsenals. His administration introduced procedures that strengthened the Chairman's role within the JCS but diminished the JCS ability to carry out its advisory role.

On 10 June 1977 President Carter withdrew NSAM 55, which had guided the JCS since 1961, replacing it on 22 September with a directive that gave the Chairman more latitude to represent JCS views in the absence of his colleagues but required the JCS to inform the Secretary of Defense before presenting advice to the President. While Carter's Secretary of Defense, Harold Brown, preferred to work with the JCS through the Chairman, he directed that all contacts outside the department be coordinated through OSD. Some of Brown's subordinates seemed dismissive of the JCS role as an advisory body. For example, when Secretary Brown revised the programming, planning, and budgeting system (PPBS), he introduced greater JCS involvement in analysis of force requirements, program development, and resource allocation. Nevertheless, early in 1978 OSD circulated a lengthy draft of military planning, programming, policy, and fiscal guidance, prepared without consulting the Joint Staff. General Brown advised the Secretary that the draft reflected "one view of the world by well intended but militarily inexperienced analysts" and would require "extensive revision" before the Chiefs could take it seriously.⁶⁵ Secretary Brown revised the draft and sent the President a brief summary that presented only fundamental issues.

General Brown played a key role in negotiating and securing ratification of a new Panama Canal Treaty that transferred ownership of the canal from the United States to Panama. He established a bond of trust with the Panamanian president and persuaded the Service Chiefs to accept a broadly worded guarantee of the canal's neutrality that side-stepped the sensitive questions of whether Panamanian sovereignty would be diluted and whether the United States could intervene there unilaterally. During the Senate debate, when the administration faced opposition from four former Chiefs of Naval Operations, one of whom—Admiral Moorer—was Brown's predecessor as Chairman, Brown wrote letters to senators, organized briefings for them, and helped persuade former President Ford and Dr. Kissinger to endorse ratification.⁶⁶ The Chairman's support for the treaty was crucial to its ratification.

In contrast, during SALT negotiations General Brown found himself at odds with the Carter administration. Despite the Chairman's warning that cuts in land-based missile launchers contemplated by the President could be highly destabilizing and that the Soviets would reject a US proposal for deep cuts, Carter remained convinced that such reductions were the only alternative to a costly US buildup. In April 1977, as the Chiefs had anticipated, the Soviets rejected a US proposal for deep cuts. Nevertheless, the JCS lost ground to the State Department and the NSC staff in the subsequent reshuffling of policy-making procedures.⁶⁷ Thus, in an area in which military advice was crucial but where the Chairman and the Chiefs differed profoundly with the President, the JCS played a

General George S. Brown with General David C. Jones, Chief of Staff, USAF, 1974.



subsidiary role. Stricken with cancer in early 1978, Brown was absent much of the time during his last months as Chairman.

The Road to JCS Reform

Developments during the tenure of General David C. Jones, USAF, who became Chairman on 21 June 1978, had important implications for the future of the chairmanship. Jones was nearing the end of his second term as Chief of Staff of the Air Force when President Carter nominated him to be Chairman. As Air Force Chief, Jones had regarded "the many long JCS meetings" as "an intrusion" on his time and hoped that when he became Chairman, he and the Chiefs could reform the JCS system internally.⁶⁸

Jones already had a close working relationship with Secretary Brown and, as Chairman, met with him almost daily. Brown continued to introduce procedures that increased the Chairman's visibility and influence in the budget process. When the Secretary created the Defense Resources Board (DRB) to assist in screening service requests, he made the Chairman an *ex officio* member.

According to an officer who served on the NSC staff, Jones was adept at working his views into White House discussions without challenging his superiors. A worsening world situation seemed to offer opportunity for the Chairman to exert his influence on national security policy. However, Jones's August 1978 warning that the margin of US strategic superiority over the Soviet Union was narrower than ever, though seconded by the Chiefs and Secretary Brown, did not fit Carter's views, and he discounted it. Later, the failure of the 1980 Iranian hostage rescue mission, which the President had approved on Jones's recommendation after the Chairman had overseen its planning, lessened his ability to affect other decisions.⁶⁹

President Carter's nomination of Jones as Chairman had been controversial, and his May 1980 nomination for a second term again sparked congressional criticism, as some senators thought the Chairman was too closely identified with the administration. The press reported that, to avoid a reconfirmation fight, Jones had privately agreed to resign if Carter were not re-elected. On 4 June General Jones issued a statement that it was "totally inappropriate for senior military officers to adopt the tradition of political appointees of offering resignations whenever an Administration changes." At his reconfirmation hearing the Chairman defended his support of the Carter administration, citing the principle of civilian control of the military. He testified that while he had a critical responsibility to make the strongest possible case for his views to the Secretary of Defense and the President in deliberative sessions, once they rendered a decision, "I have a clear obligation, by law and by personal conviction, to carry out that order even if I would have decided otherwise."⁷⁰

After Ronald W. Reagan's election as President, a campaign to persuade Reagan to replace the Chairman prompted former Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger and former Chairman Taylor to speak out against politicizing the chairmanship by removing an incumbent. Reagan retained Jones, but the Chairman's association with Carter administration policies, especially his endorsement of the SALT II agreement, limited his effectiveness in the new administration.⁷¹

In July 1978, soon after Jones had become Chairman, the Steadman Group, commissioned by Secretary Brown in November 1977 to review the national military command structure, had submitted its report. The group found serious flaws in the JCS system, particularly with the JCS role in resource allocation and force planning. To correct these deficiencies, it recommended expanding the Chairman's role.



General David C. Jones presides over a meeting of the Joint Chiefs of Staff with the unified and specified commanders, 22 January 1982. *Left to right:* General John A. Wickham, Jr., USA, US Forces Korea; General Edward C. Meyer, Chief of Staff, USA; General Bernard W. Rogers, USA, US European Command; Admiral Thomas B. Hayward, Chief of Naval Operations; General Donn A. Starry, USA, US Readiness Command; Admiral Robert L. J. Long, USN, Pacific Command; General Robert H. Barrow, Commandant, USMC; General James V. Hartinger, USAF, Aerospace Defense Command; General Lew Allen, Jr., Chief of Staff, USAF; Admiral Harry D. Train II, USN, Atlantic Command; General Jones; General James R. Allen, USAF, Military Airlift Command; General Bennie L. Davis, USAF, Strategic Air Command; and Lieutenant General Robert C. Kingston, USA, Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force.

The Steadman Report proposed that the Chairman, as the only JCS member without service responsibilities, provide the Secretary advice on program, budget, and force structure issues. To assist in performing this function, it recommended additional staff support for him in the studies, analysis, and gaming area. To improve command management, the report recommended that the Secretary designate the Chairman as his agent to supervise the CINCs.⁷²

The Carter administration did not act on the Steadman Report's recommendations for strengthening the Chairman's role. Interservice rivalry and disagreements, especially over resource allocation, continued to plague JCS deliberations, often leading to lowest-common-denominator advice that General Jones described as "pabulum." During his second confirmation hearing Jones recommended strengthening the Chairman's role, particularly in the budget process, and advocated

increased Joint Staff independence from the services.⁷³

Jones had long believed that the JCS system required fundamental change, and he had become convinced that the impetus for reform must come from outside the JCS. In February 1981 the Chairman commissioned a study of JCS reorganization by a group of retired senior officers. Even before this Chairman's Special Study Group submitted its formal report in April 1982, Jones offered proposals for reform. During a closed session of the House Armed Services Committee in February 1982, he called for JCS reorganization. Later that month he published his views.

General Jones identified long-standing defects in the JCS system: diffused authority and responsibility, military advice that was neither timely nor useful, service domination of the joint system, and built-in conflicts of interest for the Service Chiefs in their dual roles as JCS members and service leaders. He recommended making the Chairman, rather than the corporate Chiefs, the principal military adviser to the President, the Secretary of Defense, and the NSC; giving the Chairman oversight of the unified and specified commands; providing the Chairman with a four-star deputy; and having the Joint Staff work for the Chairman rather than the corporate Chiefs. Jones also wanted to limit service staff involvement in the joint process and increase the rewards for joint duty to attract the best officers to joint assignments. His proposals framed the terms for a continuing debate on JCS reform. Before his retirement on 18 June a subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee had begun an inquiry on JCS reorganization.⁷⁴

General John W. Vessey, Jr., USA, became Chairman on General Jones's retirement. General Vessey subscribed to the Reagan administration's assertive approach to the Soviet Union, and his relations with Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger were good.

Vessey quickly demonstrated his willingness to exercise his authority as Chairman. In order to act in a timely manner to influence decisions, he did not hesitate to forward JCS views to the Secretary even when the Chiefs had not met formally on an issue.⁷⁵

At his confirmation hearing Vessey indicated that he agreed with many of Jones's proposals but thought that it was up to the President, the Secretary, and Congress to introduce JCS reform. In response to a presidential request, early in Vessey's tenure Secretary Weinberger asked the JCS to study the reorganization proposals. During the summer of 1982 Vessey and the Chiefs met frequently to examine the issue of JCS reform, reviewing Jones's recommendations and a set of proposals by the Army Chief of Staff, General Edward C. Meyer, who also recommended an enhanced role for the Chairman. The JCS concluded that most of the recommended improvements could be implemented without legislation; they also proposed putting the Chairman in the chain of command. Meanwhile, in August 1982 the House of Representatives passed a bill that incorporated General Jones's main proposals. But the bill went no further.⁷⁶

In addition to organizational reform, General Vessey focused on improving operational planning. His efforts resulted in an expansion of the Chairman's role. With Secretary Weinberger's approval, Vessey acted as the CINCs' spokesman for operations and requirements. Shortly after taking office, he ordered a review of major contingency plans aimed at refining JCS oversight of these fundamental products of the joint system. Secretary Weinberger gave General Vessey authority to conduct certain operations on his behalf. During Operation URGENT FURY, the US intervention in Grenada in October 1983, the Secretary gave the Chairman authority to call up backup forces, deploy



John Ficara—Newsweek

General David C. Jones and General John W. Vessey, Jr., in the Chairman's office, May 1982.

them, and issue guidance to unified and specified commanders.

Vessey also introduced procedures intended to address some of the deficiencies in the joint system. He met with the CINCs in Washington on a regular basis and ensured that they became regularly involved in the Defense Resources Board's programming and budgeting activities. A Joint Requirements Management Board was established, and Vessey established the Strategic Plans and Resource Analysis Agency to help the JCS review major materiel and manpower requirements. To ease the problems that resulted from several Service Chiefs being Acting Chairman within one week, the Chiefs agreed that each would be designated Acting Chairman for three months on a rotational

basis. They believed that this change would make Jones's proposal for a deputy chairman unnecessary. Vessey kept the Chief designated to act for him abreast of his activities, but three months out of twelve did not prove enough to replicate the Chairman's understanding of issues and personalities.

Despite its success, the intervention in Grenada was beset by difficulties with interoperability and interservice cooperation that underscored continuing weaknesses in the joint system. The deaths the same month of 241 US Marines in a terrorist bombing of their barracks in Lebanon prompted a congressional investigation that focused on the problems created by a cumbersome US chain of command. These well-publicized problems in



General John W. Vessey, Jr., with President Ronald Reagan in Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger's office, 1984. *Left to right:* Major General Colin L. Powell, Military Assistant to the Secretary of Defense; Secretary Weinberger; General Vessey; William H. Taft IV, Deputy Secretary of Defense; President Reagan.

the deployments to Grenada and Lebanon fueled criticism of JCS performance.⁷⁷

In 1984 Congress passed a law making the Chairman the spokesman for the CINCs on operational requirements, allowing him to determine when issues under JCS consideration would be decided, and authorizing him rather than the corporate Chiefs to select officers to be assigned to the Joint Staff. The law did little more than recognize existing prac-

tices and did not address what critics saw as fundamental flaws. Several influential journals and think tanks renewed the call for JCS reform. In January 1985 Senator Barry Goldwater (R, AZ), Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, and Senator Sam Nunn (D, GA), the ranking minority member, announced formation of a task force on defense organization. That spring the House Armed Services Committee began considering



Ronald Reagan Library

Admiral William J. Crowe, Jr., briefs President Ronald Reagan at the White House, October 1987. *Left to right:* Admiral Crowe; Lieutenant General Colin L. Powell, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; Caspar W. Weinberger, Secretary of Defense; President Reagan.

a bill incorporating General Jones's main proposals. In an effort to forestall the growing movement for legislative action, President Reagan in June appointed a Blue Ribbon Commission, headed by former Deputy Secretary of Defense David Packard; its task included a review of JCS responsibilities.

When General Vessey retired on 30 September 1985, the report of the Goldwater-Nunn task force was being readied for release.⁷⁸

The Goldwater-Nichols Act

Just a few days after Admiral William J. Crowe, Jr., became Chairman on 1 October



Admiral William J. Crowe, Jr., with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1987. *Left to right:* General Alfred M. Gray, Jr., Commandant, USMC; Admiral Carlisle A. H. Trost, Chief of Naval Operations; General Larry D. Welch, Chief of Staff, USAF; General Carl E. Vuono, Chief of Staff, USA; Admiral Crowe; and General Robert T. Herres, USAF, Vice Chairman.

1985, Senators Goldwater and Nunn briefed him, the Secretary of Defense, and the Deputy Secretary on the Armed Services Committee's staff study on reorganization. On 16 October the Senate released its report, *Defense Organization: The Need for Change*, which was extremely critical of JCS performance. Among the report's ninety-one recommendations was a proposal to replace the JCS with a joint military advisory council composed of a chairman and a four-star officer from each service, each of whom would be on his final tour and presumably free of service parochialism. In

November the House passed the JCS reorganization bill that its Armed Services Committee had considered the previous spring.⁷⁹

On 12 December Admiral Crowe testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee on its staff report. He opposed replacing the Chiefs with a new body of military advisers but favored designating the Chairman instead of the Chiefs as principal military adviser to the President, the Secretary of Defense, and the NSC; giving the Chairman sole control of the Joint Staff; and inserting him into the chain of command. In later testi-

mony, Crowe also supported creating the position of deputy chairman. The Packard Commission's interim report, issued in February 1986, included all of Crowe's proposals among its recommendations. In September the Senate and House reached agreement on reform legislation, and Congress passed the Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986, which became law on 1 October.⁸⁰

Directing the first major reorganization of the JCS in almost thirty years, the new law made the most significant changes in the joint system since the National Security Act of 1947. It greatly enhanced the Chairman's authority by making him, rather than the corporate JCS, principal military adviser to the President, Secretary of Defense, and NSC. It established the position of Vice Chairman, bestowed wide new powers on the CINCs, and increased the prestige and rewards of joint duty. The Chairman would consult the Service Chiefs and the CINCs as he considered appropriate and then submit what he deemed to be a suitable range of advice. Clearly, the intent was to minimize the type of dissent that had plagued JCS deliberations in the past.

Goldwater-Nichols prescribed that candidates for Chairman must have served as Vice Chairman, Service Chief, or CINC although the President could waive this requirement. It stipulated that a Chairman's two-year term would begin on 1 October of odd-numbered years; he might be reappointed for two more terms, except in time of war when there was no limit on tenure. The act retained the language of the National Security Act Amendments of 1949, specifying that the Chairman outranked all other officers but did not exercise command over the JCS or the armed forces. The new law assigned to the Chairman functions previously discharged by the corporate JCS: assisting the President and the Secre-

tary of Defense in the strategic direction of the armed forces; carrying out strategic and contingency planning; advising the Secretary about military requirements, programs, and budgets; and developing joint doctrine, training, and education for the armed forces. The Joint Staff came under the Chairman's direction and control. Finally, the act defined the chain of command as running from the President to the Secretary of Defense to the CINCs. The President might, however, direct that communications between himself or the Secretary and the CINCs be transmitted through the Chairman. The President also could designate the Chairman to assist him and the Secretary "in performing their command function."⁸¹

Principal Military Adviser

Admiral Crowe had worked behind the scenes to encourage support for the Goldwater-Nichols Act and had changed some JCS procedures in anticipation of its passage. In assuming direct control of the Joint Staff after the law came into effect, he moved to enhance the quality of the staff, which had suffered in the competition with the service staffs for the most capable officers. He created new directorates to assist him in the areas of interoperability and joint doctrine and resource and budget matters. However, Crowe continued to use the Chairman's Staff Group—previously one of the few staff entities to work directly for the Chairman—to review Joint Staff papers before they reached him.

Three of the Service Chiefs and Secretary Weinberger had opposed aspects of the new law. Moreover, Crowe believed that he needed the Chiefs' expertise and experience. Therefore he adopted an evolutionary approach in exercising his new authority within the JCS. He continued to consult regularly with the Chiefs and to seek consensus.



General Colin L. Powell with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1991. *Left to right:* General Carl E. Mundy, Commandant, USMC; General Gordon R. Sullivan, Chief of Staff, USA; General Merrill A. McPeak, Chief of Staff, USAF; Admiral Frank B. Kelso II, Chief of Naval Operations; General Powell; Admiral David E. Jeremiah, Vice Chairman.

Admiral Crowe worked effectively with Secretary Weinberger although their approach to issues often differed; he found the approach of Weinberger's successor, Frank C. Carlucci, more flexible.⁸²

Despite his emphasis on collegiality, Crowe fully exercised the Chairman's expanded authority at important junctures. In 1987 during Operation EARNEST WILL,

which took place near the boundary between two unified commands, he used his enhanced authority to guide the creation of a joint task force to conduct the escort of reflagged Kuwaiti tankers in the Persian Gulf.⁸³ In October 1988, when the Chief of Naval Operations strongly opposed establishing a unified transportation command, Crowe decided to support its creation. With the Chairman's endorse-



President William J. Clinton and General Colin L. Powell review the honor guard at General Powell's retirement ceremony, Fort Myer, Virginia, 30 September 1993.

ment, the Secretary and the President then approved creating the US Transportation Command.⁸⁴ Crowe's moving forward on a critical issue despite opposition from his own service demonstrated the impact of Goldwater-Nichols.

General Colin L. Powell, USA, came to the chairmanship on 1 October 1989 determined to make full use of the Chairman's

expanded authority. He had the advantage of being the first Chairman to serve his entire tenure under the Goldwater-Nichols Act. In addition, his extensive experience at the highest levels of government, his resulting close relationship with President George H. W. Bush and Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, and—during the last years of his tenure—the public prominence which he attained during

the Persian Gulf War gave him considerable latitude in the exercise of the authority granted the Chairman under Goldwater-Nichols.

Powell had a clear idea of what he wished to accomplish. As Secretary Weinberger's Military Assistant and President Reagan's National Security Adviser, he had found that the military advice produced by the corporate JCS system frequently did not meet policy makers' needs because it was often untimely and diluted. He was determined that that would not happen during his tenure. Foreseeing the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, he believed that it was his responsibility both to initiate a reorientation of military strategy in response to the changed world situation and to provide programming guidance to the services for a reduced force structure. Although he would have preferred having the Chiefs' support for his ideas, he was willing to proceed without it. When they did not endorse his views on strategy and force structure, he won the support of Secretary Cheney and President Bush for his proposals.⁸⁵

Mindful of the operational and command prerogatives of the CINCs, Powell, nevertheless, exerted considerable influence on operations. During planning for the Panama operation in 1989 and the Persian Gulf War in 1990-1991, he pressed civilian leaders to identify national interests, examine all options, and define objectives before using military force. Once the decision to attack had been made, he played a major role in convincing the Bush administration to apply overwhelming force to achieve rapid success at low cost.⁸⁶

Powell preferred to work outside formal staff structures and processes. His management of the Joint Staff concentrated power in his hands. He abolished the Chairman's Staff Group as a buffer between him and the staff. On issues of importance, he preferred working directly with selected staff members rather

than using formal staffing procedures. To assure that the budget provided for his recommended force structure, General Powell had a J-8 deputy director work directly with the DOD Comptroller's office rather than using the formal planning, programming, and budgeting system. Powell liked to meet with the Chiefs in his office, where they were less constrained by prepared service staff positions than in "The Tank." He relied on frequent telephone conversations to maintain individual contact with the other members of the JCS.

As a result of Powell's active exercise of his authority, the Chairman's role expanded and his influence increased. The perceived extent of Powell's influence and his visibility—particularly publication during the 1992 presidential election campaign of his views on the necessity of limiting the circumstances in which US military force is applied—led to criticism that he had exceeded the appropriate role for a military adviser. He continued to exert considerable influence during the last months of his tenure, playing an important role in the formulation of President William J. Clinton's positions on such issues as homosexuals in the military and the US role in Bosnia.

General John M. Shalikashvili, USA, who became Chairman on 25 October 1993, faced the task of charting a course for the US military in a world in which there was no major conflict and the United States was the sole superpower. Shalikashvili saw his role as principal military adviser as making civilian leaders aware of the range of feasible courses of action and their implications.

Shalikashvili believed that there were circumstances in which the limited application of force was justified. In the Clinton administration's discussions of the US response to the conflict that had raged in Bosnia since 1992, he opposed the deployment of US ground forces as combatants but supported participation in a NATO peace implementation force



General John M. Shalikashvili meets with President William J. Clinton at the White House, November 1995.

after the warring factions had agreed to a framework for peace. Once the peacekeeping mission began, he argued strongly and generally successfully that the US military should perform strictly military tasks and not become involved in law enforcement.⁸⁷ The Partnership for Peace, Shalikashvili's initiative for a NATO military cooperation program with the former members of the Warsaw Pact, advanced military contacts with former adversaries and laid the foundation for NATO enlargement. His efforts to place greater emphasis on US military-to-military contact with both Russia and China did not, however, win administration backing.

Shalikashvili's approach to the Chairman's role within the corporate JCS was closer

to Crowe's than to Powell's. He adopted a collegial approach in dealing with the Service Chiefs but, nonetheless, vigorously exercised his statutory authority. His close working relationship with Secretary of Defense William J. Perry enabled him to assert the Chairman's prerogatives against those of the services and the CINCs and to introduce procedures that expanded the Chairman's institutional role within the Defense Department. In using the Joint Staff, Shalikashvili resumed the practice of relying on the formal staff system.

Shalikashvili ensured that he was part of the chain for all communications to and from the CINCs. He convinced Secretary Perry that, during domestic emergencies, orders issued by the Secretary of the Army for



General John M. Shalikashvili with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1995. *Left to right:* General Charles C. Krulak, Commandant, USMC; General Dennis J. Reimer, Chief of Staff, USA; General Ronald R. Fogelman, Chief of Staff, USAF; Admiral Jeremy M. Boorda, Chief of Naval Operations; General Shalikashvili; Admiral William A. Owens, Vice Chairman.

deployment of forces assigned to the unified commanders should be conveyed through the Chairman. Shalikashvili also expanded the scope of his activities to include areas traditionally the responsibility of the services. Believing that, as the senior military officer, he should exercise leadership on such issues as sexual harassment, he worked to achieve a coordinated approach to these issues among the services.

Working with Admiral William A. Owens, his Vice Chairman from 1994 until 1996, Shalikashvili extended and systematized the Chairman's participation in programming and budgeting. Implementing his statutory authority to submit alternative program and budget recommendations to the Secretary, he strengthened the Chairman's Program Assessment and introduced the Chairman's Program Recommendations into



Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen swears in General Henry H. Shelton as the fourteenth Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 30 September 1997.

the PPBS. Comfortable using formal structures and processes, General Shalikashvili exercised his authority in a way that strengthened the chairmanship as an institution.

The next Chairman, General Henry H. Shelton, USA, brought to the chairmanship a strong operational background with considerable experience in unconventional warfare. By the time that he became Chairman on 1 October 1997, the transition to the post-Cold War world had been completed. The chairmanship had been created to deal with the

Cold War and shaped by that conflict, but Shelton had to operate in a very different environment. The end of the US-Soviet confrontation had led to significant reductions in the size of the US military and the number of forces permanently stationed abroad and to increased participation of the remaining forces in peacekeeping and humanitarian operations. Accomplishing these new missions brought increased emphasis on both joint and multilateral operations. The nature and scope of the advice which General Shelton gave



General Henry H. Shelton with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1999. *Left to right:* General Joseph Ralston, Vice Chairman; General Shelton; Admiral Jay L. Johnson, Chief of Naval Operations; General Michael E. Ryan, Chief of Staff, USAF; General Eric K. Shinseki, Chief of Staff, USA; General James L. Jones, Jr., Commandant, USMC.

President Clinton and Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen when they considered the deployment of US forces in this changed environment reflected his operational background.

In carrying out his responsibilities, Shelton placed great confidence not only in his Vice Chairman, General Joseph Ralston, USAF, but also in the men who served him as Director of

the Joint Staff, relying on the latter as the channel for much of his work with the Joint Staff. The Chairman's collegial relationship with the Service Chiefs allowed him to capitalize on their particular expertise in formulating his advice to the NCA. At the same time, the changed focus of US foreign and defense policy and the resulting changes in force structure

and military posture led him to continue the practice begun under his two immediate predecessors of becoming directly involved in areas formerly almost exclusively the purview of the services. To ensure continued readiness in the new strategic environment, Shelton addressed issues affecting the quality of life, retention, and recruitment of service personnel. The central role which he played in winning support for major changes to the military pay and retirement systems illustrates the shift that had already taken place in the scope of the Chairman's activities when General Shelton began his second term on 1 October 1999.

Expanded Influence: The Vice Chairman's Role

Contributing to the increased power of the chairmanship was the new position of Vice Chairman. The Goldwater-Nichols Act designated the Vice Chairman as the second-ranking officer in the US Armed Forces. In place of the previous practice of rotating the chairmanship among the Service Chiefs during the absence of the Chairman, the new law specified that the Vice Chairman would serve as Acting Chairman. It did not further delineate the Vice Chairman's duties, leaving them to be prescribed by the Chairman, with the approval of the Secretary of Defense. While Goldwater-Nichols authorized the Vice Chairman to participate in all JCS meetings, it prohibited him from voting unless he was acting as Chairman. This restriction meant that the Vice Chairman was not a full member of the JCS.

Soon after General Robert T. Herres, USAF, became the first Vice Chairman on 6 February 1987, he and Admiral Crowe worked out a list of the Vice Chairman's specific duties, which Secretary Weinberger accepted.⁸⁸ In addition to the Vice Chairman's statutory responsibilities, they agreed that Herres would carry out several of the Chair-

man's duties, primarily in the areas of requirements and joint doctrine, training, and education. Herres's principal functions were to act for the Chairman in all aspects of the PPBS, serve as Vice Chairman of the Defense Acquisition Board (DAB) and Chairman of the Joint Requirements Oversight Council (JROC), and represent the Chairman on the Defense Resources Board. He also dealt with nuclear and space policy. When the Bush administration established the Deputies Committee of the National Security Council in 1989, the Vice Chairman became the Chairman's representative on that body. After General Powell became Chairman, the Crowe-Herres arrangement regarding the Vice Chairman's duties remained in effect for the rest of Herres's tenure. However, the Vice Chairman played a less active role on the DRB's successor, the Defense Planning and Resources Board, since Powell preferred to attend its meetings himself.

General Herres viewed his role as not only substituting for the Chairman but also extending the Chairman's influence.⁸⁹ As Chairman of the JROC and Vice Chairman of the DAB, he institutionalized the role of the military in the requirements process. When he first became Vice Chairman, Herres had to contend with service concerns that he was usurping some of the Chiefs' functions. But well before his retirement on 28 February 1990, the Vice Chairman's role had been accepted as integral to the joint system.

The range of the Vice Chairman's activities and the extent of his influence expanded during the tenure of Admiral David E. Jeremiah, who became Vice Chairman on 1 March 1990. Like Herres, Jeremiah had principal responsibility for requirements and represented the Chairman in the interagency policy-making process. But rather than retaining the formal delineation of the Vice Chairman's duties that had guided General Herres, General Powell and Admiral



Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger swears in General Robert T. Herres as the first Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 6 February 1987.

Jeremiah agreed that Jeremiah would support Powell across the whole range of the Chairman's responsibilities and that his specific duties would evolve as their working relationship developed. They decided that the Vice Chairman should participate fully in the management and direction of the Joint Staff and in providing military advice to the Secretary and the President.

Powell and Jeremiah continued the practice of having the Vice Chairman chair the JROC, serve as Vice Chairman of the DAB, represent the Chairman on the Deputies Committee, and deal with nuclear and space policy. Through Admiral Jeremiah's efforts, the Vice Chairman became an integral part of the intelligence oversight process. With the August 1990 deployment of US forces to the



A meeting in "The Tank" with President George Bush during Operation DESERT STORM, January 1991. *Left to right:* Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense; President Bush; General Colin L. Powell, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff; Admiral David E. Jeremiah, Vice Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Persian Gulf in Operation DESERT SHIELD, he became involved in operational matters as well. General Powell increasingly relied on Jeremiah as a sounding board and source of advice. At the Chairman's direction, Jeremiah participated in the budget process, working closely with the Department of Defense Comptroller on the allocation of resources within the defense budget. With

the expansion of the role of the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition during the Clinton administration, the Vice Chairman's responsibilities broadened to include force structure.

The Vice Chairman's statutory authority was also expanded during Admiral Jeremiah's tenure. At General Powell's urging and with the Service Chiefs' support, the

Bush administration in 1991 sought legislation to make the Vice Chairman a full member of the JCS. The Senate passed such a bill unanimously, but the House approved a version that would have prohibited the Vice Chairman from informing Congress and the President when he differed with the Chairman. With the House and Senate deadlocked, General Powell helped to break the impasse. To a leading opponent of the Senate bill he wrote, "The most junior officer in the Armed Forces of the United States is entitled to express disagreement through channels to the next higher authority. How can we, in good conscience, deny that privilege to the second highest military officer in the Armed Forces as a consequence of being elevated to membership on the Joint Chiefs of Staff?" Public Law 102-484, signed by President Bush on 23 October 1992, made the Vice Chairman a full JCS member without restrictions.⁹⁰

As Acting Chairman between General Powell's retirement on 1 October 1993 and General Shalikashvili's assuming the chairmanship on 25 October, Admiral Jeremiah was a key participant in deliberations regarding US policy in Somalia and Haiti. While the Powell-Jeremiah working relationship closely resembled a partnership, during the short time that Jeremiah served with Shalikashvili, his function was more advisory.

The scope of the Vice Chairman's influence increased further during the tenure of Admiral William A. Owens, who served from 1 March 1994 through 29 February 1996. With the support of General Shalikashvili, Admiral Owens used his position as Chairman of the JROC to exploit fully the authority vested by Goldwater-Nichols in the Chairman and, by extension, the Vice Chairman.

Owens transformed the JROC, expanding its scope to include programming. He moved far in achieving a consensus among the services and the CINCs on requirements and pro-

gramming priorities. As part of this effort, he increased the frequency of JROC meetings and introduced informal weekly breakfasts with the Service Vice Chiefs. He also brought the CINCs directly into the JROC process by periodically taking the JROC to meet with them. The expanded role of the JROC required an expansion of the Joint Staff's analytic capabilities and led to a further increase in the influence of the Joint Staff.

Like his predecessors, Admiral Owens also played a key role in the DAB and participated in numerous other senior policy and review groups. However, unlike Herres and Jeremiah, he did not routinely attend Deputies Committee meetings, generally attending only when General Shalikashvili deemed his presence essential.

Under Owens's leadership, the Chairman's Program Assessment, which gave the Secretary of Defense the Chairman's assessment of the services' budget and programming proposals, attained greater importance, and General Shalikashvili began to submit the Chairman's Program Recommendations presenting his priorities for future investment. Through these initiatives, the Chairman for the first time fully exercised his statutory authority to submit alternative programming and budget recommendations to the Secretary. Systematizing the Chairman's and Vice Chairman's participation in programming and budgeting, Admiral Owens thus integrated the JROC process into the PPBS. In so doing, he not only expanded the Chairman's and Vice Chairman's roles but also strengthened the overall role of the military within the Defense Department.

Owens also sought congressional support for his initiatives, and toward the end of his tenure the JROC received statutory authority. The National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1996 amended the Goldwater-Nichols Act, adding a section that



Admiral William A. Owens with the Joint Requirements Oversight Council, 1995.
Left to right: General Ronald H. Griffith, Vice Chief of Staff, USA; General Thomas S. Moorman, Vice Chief of Staff, USAF; Admiral Owens; General Richard D. Hearney, Assistant Commandant, USMC; Admiral Joseph W. Prueher, Vice Chief of Naval Operations.

established the JROC, prescribed its mission, and defined its membership. Effective 31 January 1997, the JROC was authorized by law to assist the Chairman in identifying and assessing the priority of joint military requirements to meet the national military strategy, to consider alternatives to acquisition programs identified to meet those requirements, and to assign joint priority among existing and future programs. Designating the Chairman

as the JROC's Chairman and permitting him to delegate the position only to the Vice Chairman, the amendment enhanced the authority of both positions.⁹¹

The tenure of General Joseph Ralston, who served from 1 March 1996 through 29 February 2000, saw a further extension of the Vice Chairman's influence. When Ralston became Vice Chairman, he functioned as General Shalikashvili's deputy and participated

fully in all aspects of the Chairman's day-to-day activities in addition to carrying out his specific responsibilities as Vice Chairman. This method of operating continued when General Shelton, with whom Ralston had a long association, became Chairman. While the arrangement was similar to that worked out between General Powell and Admiral Jeremiah, Ralston became directly involved in overseeing current operations to a greater extent than Jeremiah had been.

The expanded role of the Deputies Committee during the second Clinton administration meant that the Vice Chairman devoted an increasing amount of time to the interagency process. The fact that Ralston was the first Vice Chairman to serve a significant length of time with more than one Chairman and also the first to serve his entire tenure under one presidential administration contributed to his impact in the policy process. The experience he gained during the nineteen months that he served with Shalikashvili and his consequent familiarity with key officials substantially assisted the transition from Shalikashvili to Shelton. Ralston was a valuable resource not only for General Shelton but also for Secretary of Defense Cohen, who had been Secretary only eight months when the new Chairman assumed office. The continuity that General Ralston brought to deliberations within the Defense Department strengthened the military voice in the policy process.

When the amendment to the Goldwater-Nichols Act giving the JROC statutory authority went into effect on 31 January 1997, Ralston became the first to operate under this new authority. In addition to performing the Vice Chairman's duties as Chairman of the JROC and Vice Chairman of the DAB, Ralston acted for the Chairman in all aspects of the PPBS. He also coordinated the Defense Department's review of post-Cold War strategy and force structure. With the increased

emphasis placed on the Chairman's Exercise Program as the armed forces adapted their training to the new missions of the post-Cold War world, he assumed a major role in overseeing that program.

Each of these Vice Chairmen had a different conception of the position's scope and authority. In defining the Vice Chairman's role, the Chairmen with whom they served also set out different guidelines. While each Vice Chairman carried out his responsibilities differently, the cumulative effect of their contributions was a significant expansion of the Vice Chairman's role and of the overall influence of the Chairman.

Conclusion

The position of Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff was created in 1949 to expedite the carrying out of JCS responsibilities. The hope in establishing the position had been that a presiding officer, free of service responsibilities, could coordinate JCS activities to minimize service disagreements and enable the corporate body to provide the Secretary of Defense and the President with timely and useful military advice. However, the constraints imposed on the Chairman's role made it difficult for Chairmen during the first thirty-seven years of the position's existence to fulfill this expectation. The National Security Act Amendments of 1949 made the Chairman the highest-ranking member of the US Armed Forces yet gave him limited authority. He was first among equals on the JCS—an additional member of the corporate body. But, by law, it was the corporate JCS who served as principal military advisers to the Secretary of Defense, the President, and the National Security Council and were charged with preparation of plans, review of requirements, and formulation of policies for joint training and coordination of military education. The Joint Staff worked for the corporate



General Joseph Ralston at the ceremony marking the end of his service as Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Fort Myer, Virginia, 29 February 2000.

body, and the JCS system required a lengthy, time-consuming effort to achieve consensus among the services before recommendations could be sent to the Secretary of Defense.

Before the enactment of the Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorgan-

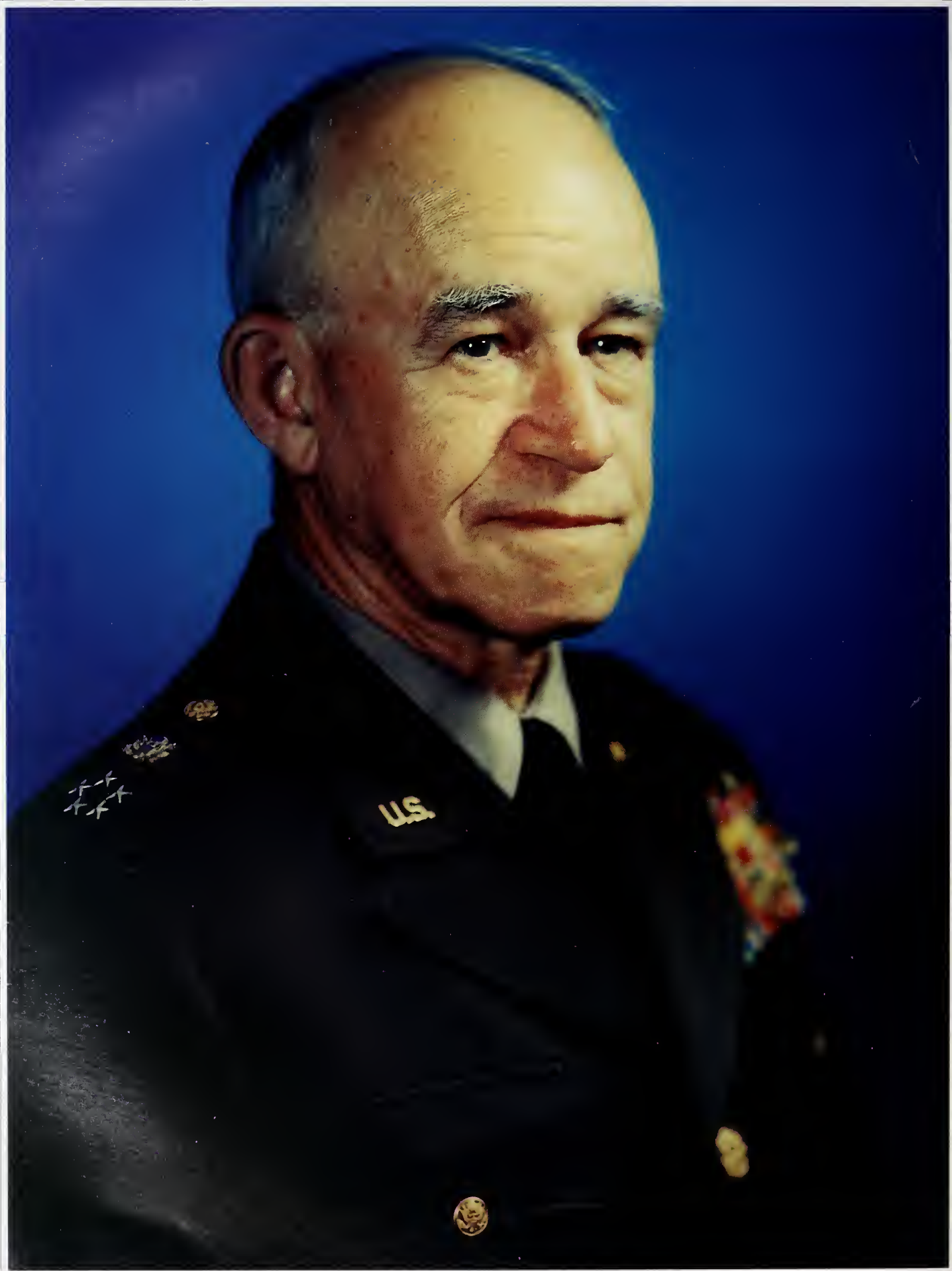
ization Act of 1986, a Chairman's impact on the setting of military priorities and his influence on national security policy therefore derived not so much from his legal authorities as from the force of his personality, the nature of his relationships with both his civilian superiors

and his JCS colleagues, and the extent to which his views and style meshed with those of the administration he served. During this period, the strength of the chairmanship as an institution closely paralleled the degree of influence of the incumbent. Over the years, the position gradually attained increased prominence, and the Chairman's role expanded; he came to be regarded as the representative and spokesman of the Chiefs. Increased prominence did not, however, necessarily equate with influence either with the civilian leadership or within the JCS, nor did the influence attained by one Chairman automatically transfer to his successors. Even the strengthening of the position through legislation and administrative action did not resolve the inherent contradictions of the Chairman's institutional role. The organizational framework within which he operated restricted his ability to overcome interservice competition and to forward the timely, cogent advice needed by civilian leaders.

With the implementation of the Goldwater-Nichols Act, not only did the Chairman

become the principal military adviser to the President, the Secretary of Defense, and the NSC, but organizational changes also strengthened his role within the national security policy-making structure. The transformation of the Joint Staff into the Chairman's staff and the subsequent enhancement of its quality and expansion of its capabilities gave the Chairman the organizational support necessary to function effectively in his new role. As a result, the timeliness and quality of the advice he offered the Secretary and the President improved. The exercise of the Chairman's new authorities by the first Chairmen to serve under Goldwater-Nichols and the gradual extension of the scope of the Vice Chairman's activities further strengthened the chairmanship, giving it an unprecedented status as an institution. Nevertheless, despite his increased authority and the enhanced stature of his position, the Chairman continued to operate in a political environment. His influence with his civilian superiors rested ultimately on his ability to work effectively with them.

THE CHAIRMEN



OMAR NELSON BRADLEY

16 August 1949 — 15 August 1953

Omar Bradley was born in the farming village of Clark, Missouri, on 12 February 1893. His parents were poor, his boyhood austere. The US Military Academy appealed to Bradley as a means to an education without financial burden for his family. He received an appointment and graduated in 1915, ranking forty-fourth out of 164. His classmates included Dwight D. Eisenhower, James A. Van Fleet, and fifty-six other future generals from “the class the stars fell on.”

During World War I Bradley served with an infantry regiment which, to his chagrin, never left the United States. Most of his interwar assignments were spent as either student or teacher at military schools. In 1941, while Commandant of the Infantry School, Bradley became the first man in his class to reach the rank of brigadier general. During 1942 to 1943, he successively commanded the 82d and 28th Infantry Divisions.

In March 1943, at General Eisenhower’s request, Major General Bradley arrived in North Africa. There he joined II Corps as Deputy Commander under Lieutenant General George S. Patton, Jr. Bradley took command of II Corps for the final advance to Tunis and during the thirty-eight day Sicilian campaign served as a corps commander in Patton’s Seventh Army. Based upon Bradley’s exceptional qualities as a combat leader and his gift for getting along with the allies, Eisenhower chose him to be Army Group Commander for Operation OVERLORD, the invasion of France. During June and July 1944 Lieutenant General Bradley led the US First Army as it fought through the hedgerows of Normandy. On 1 August, just after the breakout

Omar N. Bradley
General of the Army



Lieutenant General Bradley, *center*, with General Dwight D. Eisenhower and Major General J. Lawton Collins in France, July 1944.

at St. Lo, he took command of the 12th Army Group. When the European war came to an end in May 1945, Bradley (now a full general) commanded forty-three divisions and 1.3 million men, the largest body of American soldiers ever to serve under a US field commander. His modest demeanor and solicitude for his troops earned him the nickname "the GI's General."

With the coming of peace, President Harry S Truman named General Bradley to be

Administrator of the Bureau of Veterans' Affairs; he began work in August 1945. Bradley returned to the Army on 7 February 1948, when he succeeded General Eisenhower as Chief of Staff. Three months later, Secretary of Defense James Forrestal asked Bradley to become his "principal military adviser." Bradley was disinclined to leave his Army post after so short a time, and the Secretary of the Army felt that he could not spare Bradley. But when Eisenhower, whom Forrestal had



Lieutenant General Bradley pauses to autograph a GI's helmet in Germany, 1945.

appointed instead, later declined the newly created position of Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Bradley accepted.

He became the first Chairman on 16 August 1949. During his tenure, the United States began to create a collective security strategy with its allies. After the outbreak of the Korean War, it began to rebuild its military forces, which had been rapidly reduced at the end of World War II. Bradley played a central role in these efforts.

Upon becoming Chairman, Bradley had to deal immediately with the so-called "revolt of the admirals." Navy officers, fearing their service would have no role in a major war and resenting the cancellation of plans for a supercarrier, assailed the concept of strategic bombing with nuclear weapons. The Air Force's B-36 bomber became their particular

target. General Bradley, who as Chief of Staff had been willing to reduce Army divisions in order to strengthen strategic air power, had no patience with what he saw as Navy parochialism. During congressional hearings, he delivered a much publicized call for service cooperation: "This is no time for 'fancy Dans' who won't hit the line with all they have on every play, unless they can call the signals. Each player on this team—whether he shines in the spotlight of the backfield or eats dirt in the line—must be all-American." Under new leadership, the Navy began taking a more conciliatory approach.

The Korean War dominated Bradley's tenure as Chairman. He wholeheartedly supported President Truman's decision to resist the North Korean attack and quickly became a key adviser to Truman. During the war's



President Harry S Truman promotes General Bradley to five-star rank, 22 September 1950.

first weeks, Bradley went frequently to the White House to brief the President and present the recommendations of the Joint Chiefs.

Despite the Korean War, Bradley saw the Soviet Union as the greatest threat to US security and Western Europe as the Free World's greatest asset. Consequently, he opposed

expansion of the Korean conflict to include China. Such a war, he said, would be "the wrong war, at the wrong place, at the wrong time, and with the wrong enemy." He opposed proposals by the US commander in the Far East, General Douglas MacArthur, for bombing and blockading China. President

Truman concurred. When General MacArthur persisted in public criticisms of this policy decision, the Joint Chiefs reluctantly agreed that the President should relieve MacArthur. Truman promptly did so and, at the recommendation of Bradley and the Chiefs, named General Matthew B. Ridgway, USA, as the new commander in the Far East.

The war in Korea and the fear of further communist aggression triggered a major rearmament effort. Between June 1950 and December 1952 the armed forces grew from 1.45 to 3.51 million men. General Bradley refereed an interservice debate over the nature of this expansion. Working closely with Deputy Secretary of Defense Robert Lovett, Bradley won JCS approval of a plan that emphasized Air Force expansion.

To deter aggression in Europe, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) set

about creating an integrated military structure. General Bradley played a key role in establishing this structure. He spent much time negotiating with his British and French counterparts over the organization of NATO's Atlantic and Mediterranean commands.

Omar Bradley was promoted to the rank of General of the Army on 22 September 1950. He was the only Chairman to attain five-star rank. His tenure as Chairman ended on 15 August 1953, three weeks after the Korean armistice. As a five-star general, however, he did not retire.

After leaving the chairmanship, Bradley joined the Bulova Watch Company, subsequently becoming chairman of the board. In March 1968 he was one of the "wise men" who reviewed Vietnam policy for President Lyndon B. Johnson. Bradley died in New York on 8 April 1981.

Omar Nelson Bradley

General of the Army

Promotions

	Dates	
	Temporary	Permanent
2LT		12 Jun 15
1LT		13 Oct 16
CPT.		22 Aug 17
MAJ.	27 Jul 18.	19 Nov 20
CPT (postwar reduction)		04 Nov 22
MAJ		27 Jun 24
LTC.		22 Jul 36
COL		13 Nov 43
BG	24 Feb 41	31 May 44
MG	18 Feb 42	16 Sep 44
LTG.	09 Jun 43	
GEN	29 Mar 45.	31 Jan 49
Gen of the Army		22 Sep 50

Assignments

	Dates	
	From	To
Troop duty with 14th Infantry Regiment in the West (incl Mexican border)	1915	1919
Professor, ROTC, South Dakota State College	1919	1920
Instructor, US Military Academy, West Point, NY	1920	1924
Student, Infantry School, Fort Benning, GA.	1924	1925
Infantry Unit Commander, 19th and 27th Infantry Regiments, HI.	1925	1927
National Guard and Reserve Affairs, Hawaiian Department	1927	1928
Student, Command and General Staff School, Fort Leavenworth, KS	1928	1929
Instructor, Infantry School, Fort Benning, GA	1929	1933
Student, Army War College, Washington, DC	1933	1934
Instructor, Plans and Training Office, US Military Academy, West Point, NY.	1934	1938
War Department General Staff: Chief, Operations Branch, G-1, and Assistant Secretary, General Staff, Washington, DC	1938	1941
Commandant, Infantry School, Fort Benning, GA	1941	1942

Assignments

	Dates	
	From	To
Commanding General, 82d Infantry Division, Camp Claiborne, LA	1942	1942
Commanding General, 28th Infantry Division, Camp Livingston, LA, and Camp Gordon Johnson, FL	1942	1943
Commanding General, II Corps, North Africa and Sicily	1943	1943
Commanding General, Field Forces, European Theater of Operations	1943	1943
Commanding General, First US Army and First US Army Group, later Commanding General, Twelfth Army Group, European Theater of Operations	1944	1945
Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, Veterans Administration, Washington, DC.	1945	1947
Chief of Staff, US Army, Washington, DC.	1948	1949
Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, DC. . .	1949	1953

Principal US Military Decorations

Army Distinguished Service Medal (with 3 oak leaf clusters)
Navy Distinguished Service Medal
Silver Star
Legion of Merit (with oak leaf cluster)
Bronze Star



ARTHUR WILLIAM RADFORD

15 August 1953 — 15 August 1957

Arthur Radford was born in Chicago, Illinois, on 27 February 1896. After growing up in Illinois and Iowa, he entered the US Naval Academy in 1912. Following graduation in 1916, he served during World War I on the battleship USS *South Carolina* in the Atlantic Fleet. Radford realized a boyhood dream to fly when he entered Navy flight training in 1920. He earned his wings the following year. For the next twenty years, he alternated among assignments with the fleet, naval air stations, and the Navy's Bureau of Aeronautics in Washington, rising from lieutenant to captain.

Shortly before the United States entered World War II, Radford became Chief of the Navy's Aviation Training Division. Here he oversaw the expansion of the training program to meet the greatly increased requirements for Navy pilots during the early stages of the war. Promoted to rear admiral, he commanded a carrier division in the Pacific during 1943. After a brief assignment at the Navy Department, he returned to the Pacific in November 1944 to command another carrier division. For the remainder of the war, he directed carrier attacks against Iwo Jima, Okinawa, and Tokyo.

After a series of staff and command assignments in the immediate post-war period, Radford, now a vice admiral, became Vice Chief of Naval Operations in January 1948. In April 1949, as that tour was ending, the "revolt of the admirals" erupted in Washington. Senior naval officers objected strenuously to the Secretary of Defense's cancellation of a new "super" carrier. The Navy wanted the new carrier, which could carry larger planes, to establish its role in strategic nuclear warfare. The ensuing controversy led to a congressional

Admiral Arthur W. Radford
United States Navy



Rear Admiral Radford, *right*, on the bridge of the USS Yorktown, October 1944.

investigation, and Admiral Radford was called to testify. He supported the Navy's position and, in discussing future operations, argued that the threat of an atomic blitz would neither deter nor win a war. In retrospect, Radford's argument appears ironic, since, as Chairman, he would become a champion of "massive retaliation."

Upon being promoted to admiral in April 1949, Radford returned to the Pacific as Commander in Chief of the Pacific Command (CINCPAC). Forces under his command provided air and naval gunfire support to UN forces in the Korean War. Radford's command also sent US military advisers to assist the French in Indochina in the war against the communist Viet Minh.

Impressed with Radford's performance as CINCPAC, President Eisenhower appointed him Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Admiral Radford assumed his duties on 15 August 1953. During Radford's tenure, President Eisenhower adopted the "New Look," a national security policy that emphasized Air Force and Navy forces over Army ground forces and provided for massive atomic retaliation in the event of general war. Radford vigorously supported the new policy and convinced a majority of his reluctant JCS colleagues to accept it as well.

In one controversial initiative related to the "New Look" and force planning, Admiral Radford did not succeed. During 1956 Radford proposed to the Chiefs drastic cuts in



Rear Admiral Radford being passed to his flagship, the USS *Saratoga*, in a breeches buoy, November 1944.

Army forces as a means of staying within the President's stringent fiscal ceiling. Units overseas would be reduced to small atomic-armed task forces, and the Marines, with atomic weapons, would have responsibility for limited war operations. Leaked to the press, this proposal aroused so much opposition in Congress and among the NATO allies that it was abandoned.

Under Radford's leadership, plans drawn up by the JCS resulted in the establishment of a new unified Continental Air Defense Command (CONAD) in 1954. The Joint Chiefs also undertook planning with the Canadian military for a North American Air Defense Command (NORAD), which was established in 1957.



Admiral Radford, *right*, with President Dwight D. Eisenhower and General Paul Ely, Chief of the French Armed Forces Staff, during a meeting in Washington to discuss the Indochina crisis, March 1954.

While Radford was Chairman, the Joint Chiefs of Staff dealt with a series of regional crises around the world, and Admiral Radford was always quick to advocate a strong US response. In late March 1954, when the French faced defeat at Dien Bien Phu, Radford on his own initiative convened a JCS meeting to consider a massive air strike in Vietnam. All the other JCS members opposed the idea, and President Eisenhower was unwilling to intervene unless important political conditions were met. They never were.

In the Formosa Straits crisis in early 1955, when communist China seemed ready to attack the nationalist-held islands of Quemoy and Matsu and then assault Formosa, Admiral Radford concluded that the situation could not be stabilized "without the Chinese Communists getting a bloody nose." He favored a pre-emptive attack unless they ceased their buildup. If war came, Radford argued before the National Security Council, all the advantages would rest with the United States. President Eisenhower, however, chose

a more restrained, flexible approach, and the Chinese communists backed away from military threats.

When President Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal Company, triggering the Suez Crisis of 1956, Admiral Radford led a united JCS in recommending military action. Nasser must be stopped, they said, by military intervention if necessary. President Eisenhower disagreed and later took strong action to stop the invasion of Egypt launched by Britain, France, and Israel.

Admiral Radford retired from military service on 15 August 1957 but remained

active in national security matters. President Eisenhower and Secretary of Defense Neil McElroy continued to call on him for advice, and during the next several years he conducted studies for the government. He strongly supported President Eisenhower's call for reorganizing the Department of Defense in 1958 and urged Congress to strengthen the authority of the Chairman. In retirement, he served as a consultant for the Bankers' Trust Company and as a director of several other firms. Admiral Radford died at the Bethesda Naval Medical Center on 17 August 1973.

Arthur William Radford

Admiral, USN

Promotions

Dates

Temporary

Permanent

ENS.		03 Jun 16
LTJG	01 Jul 17.	03 Jun 19
LT.	01 Jan 18	01 Jul 20
LCDR		17 Feb 27
CDR		01 Jul 36
CAPT.		01 Jan 42
RADM	21 Jul 43.	07 Aug 47
VADM	25 May 46	
ADM	07 Apr 49	

Assignments

Dates

From

To

USS <i>South Carolina</i>	1916.	1918
Aide on Staff, Division ONE, Battleship Force ONE, Atlantic Fleet	1918.	1919
Aide on Staff and Flag Lieutenant, Division ONE, Pacific Fleet	1919.	1920
Naval Air Station, Pensacola, FL	1920.	1921
Bureau of Aeronautics, Navy Department, Washington, DC.	1921.	1923
Aircraft Squadrons, Battle Fleet	1923.	1925
VO Squadron ONE, Aircraft Squadrons, Battle Fleet .	1925.	1927
Naval Air Station, San Diego, CA.	1927.	1929
Aircraft Squadrons, Battle Fleet (additional duty commanding Alaskan Aerial Survey Detachment)	1929.	1929
USS <i>Saratoga</i>	1929.	1930
Commanding Officer, VF Squadron ONE-B, Aircraft Squadrons, Battle Fleet	1930.	1931
Aide and Flag Secretary, Aircraft, Battle Force, US Fleet	1931.	1932
Bureau of Aeronautics, Navy Department, Washington, DC.	1932.	1935
Navigation Officer, USS <i>Wright</i>	1935.	1936
Staff, Aircraft, Battle Force	1936	1937
Commanding Officer, Naval Air Station, Seattle, WA.	1937	1940

Assignments

Dates

	From	To
Executive Officer, USS <i>Yorktown</i>	1940	1941
Office of Chief of Naval Operations, Navy Department, Washington, DC	1941	1941
TENTH Naval District (establishment Naval Air Station, Trinidad, BWI and duty as Commanding Officer)	1941	1941
Bureau of Aeronautics, Navy Department, Washington, DC	1941	1943
Carrier Division TWO	1943	1943
Commander, Carrier Division ELEVEN.	1943	1943
Chief of Staff and Aide, Aircraft, Pacific Fleet	1943	1944
Assistant Deputy Chief of Naval Operations for Air, Navy Department (additional duty alternate member Special Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee on Reorganization of National Defense).	1944	1944
Commander, Carrier Division SIX, US Pacific Fleet	1944	1945
Commanding Officer, Fleet Air, Seattle, WA	1945	1945
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Air)	1946	1947
Commander, SECOND Task Fleet	1947	1947
Vice Chief of Naval Operations, Navy Department, Washington, DC	1948	1949
Commander in Chief, Pacific and High Commissioner, Trust Territory of Pacific Islands	1949	1953
Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, DC.	1953	1957

Principal US Military Decorations and Qualifications

Navy Distinguished Service Medal (with 3 gold stars)

Legion of Merit (with gold star)

Naval Aviator



NATHAN FARRAGUT TWINING

15 August 1957 — 30 September 1960

Nathan Twining was born in Monroe, Wisconsin, on 11 October 1897. His family later moved to Oregon, where he joined the National Guard in 1916 and saw service along the Mexican border. Rising to first sergeant in the Guard, Twining won appointment to the US Military Academy in 1917. As the result of an accelerated wartime program, he graduated just over a year later in November 1918.

After initial infantry assignments, Twining attended flight school and transferred to the Army Air Service in 1926. During the next several years, he was a flying instructor and then served with pursuit and attack groups stationed around the country and in Hawaii and with the Army Mail Service. After he completed the Air Corps Tactical School and the Army Command and General Staff School, he was Air Corps Technical Supervisor at the San Antonio Air Depot. Staff assignments with the Office of the Chief of the Army Air Corps in the years 1940 to 1942 rounded out his experience and brought promotion from major to brigadier general.

General Twining began his World War II combat experience in July 1942 as Chief of Staff of the US Army Air Forces in the South Pacific area. In January 1943 he assumed command of the Thirteenth Air Force and in February was promoted to major general. While flying a B-17, Twining crashlanded in the Coral Sea. He and his crew floated in rubber life rafts in shark-infested waters for six days and five nights before being rescued. In July 1943 he became Commander of Aircraft, Solomon Islands, one of the first combined air commands in US history, with tactical control of all Army, Navy, Marine, and Allied Air Forces in the South Pacific.

General Nathan F. Twining

United States Air Force



Brigadier General Twining, following his rescue after six days and five nights adrift in a rubber raft in the Coral Sea, February 1943.

In late 1943 Twining was transferred to the Mediterranean theater, where he assumed command of the Fifteenth Air Force and the Mediterranean Allied Strategic Air Forces. His Allied command not only supported operations in Italy and southern France but also conducted bombing raids against Germany, Austria, and Romania. With the surrender of Germany, Twining returned to the Pacific. Now a lieutenant general, he commanded the Twentieth Air Force. Forces under his command launched B-29 attacks against the Japanese home islands, and planes under his command dropped the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

After World War II, Twining commanded the Air Materiel Command at Wright Field in Ohio. With the creation of the US Air Force in 1947, he took command of the newly established Alaskan Command. In 1950 he joined the Air Staff. After serving briefly as Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, he received his fourth star and assumed duties as Vice Chief of Staff.

In 1953 General Twining became Chief of Staff of the Air Force. In that position, he worked diligently for the development of aircraft, missiles, and weapons for his service. In 1956 President Dwight Eisenhower selected him to lead a delegation of technical experts



Major General Twining, *center*, in Italy with Lieutenant General Carl A. Spaatz, *left*, and Lieutenant General Ira C. Eaker, *right*, 1944.

invited to inspect Soviet air facilities. This was the first visit by US officers to the Soviet Union since World War II.

General Twining became the third Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on 15 August 1957. Just ten days after he took office, the Soviet Union announced the successful launch of an intercontinental ballistic missile and, less than two months later, placed the first artificial earth satellite, "Sputnik," in orbit. It appeared that the Soviet Union had or would soon have the capability to launch missile attacks against the United States. General Twining endorsed steps to strengthen and protect strategic retaliatory forces but saw no

reason for the large accelerated buildup favored by the Air Force. Twining was confident that the Strategic Air Command was superior to its Soviet counterpart. He opposed any major change in US strategy and, like his predecessor Admiral Arthur Radford, remained a firm advocate of the Eisenhower policy of main, but not sole, reliance on nuclear weapons.

Three crises occurred while Twining was Chairman. The first one began on 14 July 1958, when a coup toppled the pro-Western government in Iraq. The president of neighboring Lebanon, concerned about maintaining his regime, appealed for US assistance. Radical



General Twining makes a statement to the press before his trip to the Soviet Union, July 1956.

Arab nationalism, encouraged by the Soviet Union, appeared to threaten Western interests. Speaking for the Joint Chiefs, Twining told President Eisenhower that he saw "no alternative but to go in." The President promptly decided to act. Marines began landing at Beirut on 15 July, followed by Army troops. With the arrival of approximately 14,000 US personnel, enough stability existed for Lebanese factions to work out a political

compromise and for US forces to withdraw by the end of October.

Another crisis soon followed in the Far East when the Chinese communists began bombardment of the nationalist-held islands of Quemoy and Matsu off the Chinese mainland. With the eruption of this crisis during August 1958, General Twining and the Chiefs quickly agreed that the United States should not permit the loss of the islands to the

communists. They recommended the use of whatever force was necessary, including atomic weapons. General Twining forcefully presented their recommendations to the President. Eisenhower agreed that a show of force was needed but took great care to keep his military options open. He ordered the Seventh Fleet, plus two carriers from the Mediterranean, to the Formosa Strait and provided convoy protection in international waters for Chinese nationalist supply ships bound for the offshore islands. The show of force, combined with various political initiatives, worked. The bombardment ceased and the crisis passed.

The third crisis came in November 1958, when the Soviet Union announced its intention to transfer its access and occupation functions in East Germany to the East German government unless West Berlin became a demilitarized "free city" within six months. President Eisenhower responded with a firm but low-key approach. Twining told the President that the JCS feared that the United States would "go half way" in meeting Soviet provocations and "then quit." They believed that the United States had to be ready to risk general war. Some Service Chiefs favored a

major mobilization, but Twining told the President that he saw no need to go that far. Eisenhower, however, held resolutely to his low-key approach, and the Soviets backed away from their deadline.

During 1959 and 1960 General Twining played a central role in working out new procedures for coordinating nuclear strike plans. The advent of land-based missiles and *Polaris* submarines to complement the bomber fleet created major complications in target assignments, command, and control. Twining collaborated with Secretary of Defense Thomas Gates to create the Joint Strategic Target Planning Staff and the Single Integrated Operational Plan, arrangements which lasted beyond the Cold War.

Following major surgery, General Twining elected to retire on 30 September 1960, midway through his second term, before a new administration took office. During the next decade he worked as vice chairman of the publishing firm Holt, Rinehart, and Winston. In 1966 the firm published Twining's views on the state of national defense under the title *Neither Liberty nor Safety*. General Twining died on 29 March 1982 at Wilford Hall Medical Center, Lackland Air Force Base, Texas.

Nathan Farragut Twining

General, USAF

Promotions

	Dates	
	Temporary	Permanent
2LT	01 Nov 18	
1LT	01 Jan 20	20 Nov 23
CPT.	20 Apr 35	01 Sep 35
MAJ	07 Oct 38	01 Jul 40
LTC	22 Jul 41.	12 Nov 42
COL	01 Feb 42	
BG	17 Jun 42	10 Jul 46
MG	05 Feb 43	19 Feb 48
LTG.	05 Jun 45	
GEN	10 Oct 50	

Assignments

	Dates	
	From	To
Assigned duty, US Military Academy, West Point, NY	1918	1919
Tour of Observation, France, Belgium, Italy and Germany	1919	1919
Student, Basic Course, Infantry School; then Commanding Officer, 'C' and later 'B' Companies, 29th Infantry, Camp Benning, GA	1919	1922
Aide-de-Camp to BG B. A. Poore, Camp Travis, TX, Fort Logan, CO, and later Fort Sam Houston, TX.	1922	1923
Student, Air Service Primary; later Advanced Flying School, Brooks and Kelly Fields, TX.	1923	1924
Instructor, Air Corps Primary Flying School, Brooks Field, TX, and later March Field, CA . . .	1924	1930
Adjutant and Commanding Officer, 18th Pursuit Group and later Commanding Officer, 26th Attack Squadron, Schofield Barracks, HI . .	1930	1932
Pilot and Operations Officer, 8th Attack Squadron; then Pilot and Commanding Officer, 90th Attack Squadron; then Pilot and Mess Officer, 60th Services Squadron, Fort Crockett, TX	1932	1934
Engineering Officer, Central Zone, Chicago, IL. . . .	1934	1934
Post and Group Adjutant and later Commanding Officer, 3d Attack Group, 3d Attack Wing, Headquarters Detachment; then Assistant Operations Officer, 3d Wing, Barksdale Field, LA.	1934	1935

Assignments

	Dates	
	From	To
Student, Air Corps Tactical School, Maxwell Field, AL	1935	1936
Student, Command and General Staff School, Fort Leavenworth, KS	1936	1937
Air Corps Technical Supervisor, San Antonio Air Depot, Duncan Field, TX	1937	1940
Assistant Chief and later Chief, Technical Inspection Section, Office, Chief of Air Corps; then Assistant Executive Officer, Chief of Staff of the Army Air Force, Washington, DC.	1940	1942
Chief of Staff, US Army Air Forces; then Commanding General, Thirteenth Air Force, South Pacific	1942	1943
Commanding General, Fifteenth Air Force, Mediterranean Theater	1943	1945
Temporary Duty with Headquarters, Army Air Force (Liaison and Planning, Headquarters, US Army Strategic Air Force), Washington, DC	1945	1945
Commanding General, Twentieth Air Force, Pacific .	1945	1945
Commanding General, Air Materiel Command, Wright Field, OH.	1945	1947
Commander in Chief, Alaskan Command, Fort Richardson, AK	1947	1950
Acting Deputy Chief of Staff (Personnel); then Vice Chief of Staff; then temporarily assumed duties Chief of Staff; then resumed duties as Vice Chief of Staff, US Air Force, Washington, DC	1950	1953
Chief of Staff, US Air Force, Washington, DC. . . .	1953	1957
Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, DC. .	1957	1960

Principal US Military Decorations and Qualifications

Army Distinguished Service Medal (with oak leaf cluster)
 Navy Distinguished Service Medal
 Legion of Merit (with oak leaf cluster)
 Distinguished Flying Cross
 Bronze Star
 Air Medal (with oak leaf cluster)
 Commendation Ribbon

Command Pilot
 Combat Observer
 Aircraft Observer



LYMAN LOUIS LEMNITZER

1 October 1960 — 30 September 1962

Lyman Lemnitzer was born on 29 August 1899 in Honesdale, a small town in northeastern Pennsylvania. At his older brother's urging, he entered the US Military Academy, graduating in 1920. Over the next twenty years he served with coast artillery units, taught at West Point and the Coast Artillery School, and attended the Command and General Staff School and the Army War College.

In 1941, as the Army began to expand, Major Lemnitzer was transferred from an antiaircraft artillery brigade at Camp Stewart, Georgia, to the War Plans Division of the War Department General Staff. There and in subsequent assignments with General Headquarters, US Army, and Headquarters, Army Ground Forces, he participated in the planning for the mobilization and training of the rapidly expanding wartime Army and for the projected Allied landings in North Africa. Promotions came rapidly, and by June 1942 Lemnitzer was a brigadier general.

Two months later he went to England as Commanding General of the 34th Antiaircraft Artillery Brigade. Because of his familiarity with the plans for the upcoming North African operation, he was soon assigned to General Dwight Eisenhower's Allied Force Headquarters as Assistant Chief of Staff for Plans and Operations, responsible for final preparations for Operation TORCH, the upcoming North African invasion. In October 1942 Lemnitzer accompanied General Mark Clark as second in command on a secret submarine mission to Algeria to meet with friendly French to enlist their assistance with the invasion. Lemnitzer won the Legion of Merit for his participation in this mission.

General Lyman L. Lemnitzer
United States Army



Brigadier General Lemnitzer, *center*, with Lieutenant General Mark W. Clark, *left*, and General Sir Harold Alexander, *right*, at Anzio, Italy, January 1944.

In January 1943 Lemnitzer became Deputy Chief of Staff to Clark in Morocco, where he worked to organize the US Fifth Army. After resuming active command of his brigade, he led it through the Tunisian campaign and the early landing phases of the Sicily campaign.

Thereafter, Lemnitzer served as Deputy Chief of Staff and Chief of Staff to British General (later Field Marshal) Sir Harold Alexander, who was Commander in Chief, 15th Army Group and later Supreme Allied Com-

mander, Mediterranean. Lemnitzer, who was promoted to major general in 1944, also served as Chief of Staff to the Commanding General of the (US) Mediterranean Theater of Operations. In March 1945 he travelled incognito to Switzerland, where he met with German representatives and began discussions that resulted in the unconditional surrender of German forces in Italy and southern Austria.

After the war, Lemnitzer was the senior Army member of the Joint Strategic Survey Committee of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He then

served for two years as Deputy Commandant of the National War College. Concurrently, he headed the US delegation to the meetings of the Military Committee of the Five Brussels Pact Powers in London, which led to the establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Late in 1949 Lemnitzer became the first Director of the Office of Military Assistance in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, where he was instrumental in setting up the US Military Assistance Program.

From December 1951 until July 1952, Lemnitzer commanded the 7th Infantry Division, leading it in the Korean War battles of Heartbreak Ridge and the Punch Bowl. Promoted to lieutenant general in August 1952, he became the Army's Deputy Chief of Staff for Plans and Research. In 1955 he assumed command of US Army Forces, Far East, and the Eighth US Army. Shortly thereafter, having received his fourth star, he became Commander in Chief of the United Nations and Far East Command and Governor of the Ryukyu Islands. In July 1957 he became Vice Chief of Staff of the Army and two years later its Chief of Staff. Appointed by President Eisenhower, Lemnitzer became the fourth Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on 1 October 1960.

Soon after John F. Kennedy became President in 1961, the failure of the Bay of Pigs operation caused him to question the judgment of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. A brigade of anti-communist exiles, trained and directed by the CIA, landed in Cuba at the Bay of Pigs but was quickly overwhelmed by Cuban Premier Fidel Castro's forces. President Kennedy believed that the Joint Chiefs had served him poorly by failing to review the CIA's plan thoroughly and express their own reservations forthrightly. The President directed that, henceforth, the Joint Chiefs must be "more than military men" and supply "dynamic and imaginative leadership" in Cold War operations.

General Lemnitzer considered the President's criticisms unfair. The Chiefs, he maintained, had never awarded the plan their "approval"; they simply had rendered an "appraisal" that, given surprise plus air supremacy, the brigade could establish itself ashore. Yet, without consulting the Joint Chiefs, President Kennedy had changed the landing site and cancelled a strike by the exiles' aircraft. Nevertheless, this military setback early in the Kennedy presidency damaged Lemnitzer's relationship with the new President.

In the other crises which came in quick succession in 1961, General Lemnitzer's recommendations for forceful responses met with mixed success. Friendly regimes in Southeast Asia were foundering. In Laos, by late April the communist Pathet Lao had advanced so rapidly that US-backed forces there seemed about to disintegrate. General Lemnitzer urged intervention by Southeast Asia Treaty Organization forces, not by the United States alone. Lemnitzer also favored a deployment of US combat forces to bolster the government of South Vietnam, which was struggling with a growing communist insurgency. President Kennedy decided against military intervention in Laos and, instead of deploying combat forces to South Vietnam, gradually increased the number of American advisers there.

When the Soviet Union threatened to end the Western powers' access rights to Berlin, General Lemnitzer favored a major expansion of conventional forces to demonstrate US determination and allow a wide range of responses. The President agreed to an expansion but on a smaller scale. On 13 August 1961, when the communists began building a wall around West Berlin, the administration was so taken by surprise that Lemnitzer thought "everyone appeared to be hopeless, helpless, and harmless." He proposed that a



Major General Lemnitzer, *right*, with General Matthew B. Ridgway, *left*, and General James A. Van Fleet, *center*, in Korea, January 1952.

1600-man battle group be sent down the Helmstedt-to-Berlin autobahn. Many of the President's civilian advisers assailed the proposal as needlessly provocative. President Kennedy, however, ruled in Lemnitzer's favor; the battle group reached Berlin without

trouble. During autumn, as the overall US buildup proceeded, the Soviets backed away from a confrontation over Berlin.

When Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara proposed putting the combat-ready forces of the US Strategic Army Corps



General Lemnitzer, *third from right*, in South Vietnam with Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara; General Paul D. Harkins, Commander, US Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; and Major General Nguyen Khanh, Army, Republic of Vietnam, May 1962.

and the Air Force Tactical Air Command under a unified commander, the Chiefs were divided in their response. Lemnitzer, however, supported the McNamara initiative, and in 1961 the US Strike Command was created.

In response to Secretary McNamara's introduction of a new planning, programming, and budgeting system (PPBS), General

Lemnitzer in June 1962 established his own Special Studies Group to conduct analyses for the Joint Chiefs. This group played an increasingly important role in defining JCS positions.

There was a basic difference between Lemnitzer and the President over how best to respond to the anticipated increase in communist-sponsored "wars of national

liberation." Kennedy had great confidence in the efficacy of special forces and other counterinsurgency capabilities. Lemnitzer believed that, historically, regular forces had played a key role in defeating insurgencies. Believing that Lemnitzer was not sufficiently innovative to pursue the type of warfare most appropriate for the Third World, Kennedy did not appoint Lemnitzer to a second term as Chairman. Instead, the President nominated General Lemnitzer to the position of Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (SACEUR), where regular forces still played a paramount role.

General Lemnitzer's tenure as Chairman ended on 30 September 1962. He became

Commander in Chief of the US European Command (CINCEUR) on 1 November 1962 and SACEUR on 1 January 1963. He served as SACEUR until his retirement on 1 July 1969.

In retirement, Lemnitzer served in 1975 on the Commission on CIA Activities within the United States and from 1976 to 1978 on the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. In 1987 President Ronald Reagan presented him the Medal of Freedom. General Lemnitzer died on 12 November 1988 in Washington, DC.

Lyman Louis Lemnitzer

General, USA

Promotions

Dates

Temporary

Permanent

2LT.		02 Jul 20
1LT.		09 Jun 25
CPT		01 Aug 35
MAJ		01 Jul 40
LTC	11 Dec 41	02 Jul 43
COL	11 Jun 42	
BG	25 Jun 42.	24 Jan 48
MG	27 May 44	29 Apr 52
LTG.	01 Aug 52	
GEN	25 Mar 55	

Assignments

Dates

From

To

Student, Coast Artillery School, Fort Monroe, VA	1920	1921
10th and 59th Coastal Artillery Regiments	1921	1926
Instructor, US Military Academy, West Point, NY	1926	1930
Student, Coast Artillery School, Fort Monroe, VA	1930	1931
Troop and Staff Officer, 60th Antiaircraft Artillery Regiment	1931	1934
Instructor, US Military Academy, West Point, NY	1934	1935
Student, Command and General Staff School, Fort Leavenworth, KS	1935	1936
Instructor, Coast Artillery School, Fort Monroe, VA	1936	1939
Student, Army War College, Washington, DC	1939	1940
Battalion Commander and S-3, 70th Antiaircraft Artillery Regiment	1940	1940
Executive Officer and S-3, 38th Antiaircraft Artillery Brigade	1940	1941
Office of Assistant G-3, and then Assistant G-3, War Plans Division, War Department General Staff, Washington, DC	1941	1942
Chief of Plans Division, Army Ground Forces, Washington, DC	1942	1942

Assignments	Dates	
	From	To
Commanding General, 34th Antiaircraft Artillery Brigade, Norfolk, VA and England (European Theater of Operations).	1942	1942
Deputy Chief of Staff and Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, Allied Force Headquarters (European Theater of Operations: England and North Africa) and Commanding General, 34th Antiaircraft Artillery Brigade	1942	1943
Deputy Chief of Staff, Fifth US Army; Commanding General, 34th Antiaircraft Artillery Brigade (North Africa), and Antiaircraft Artillery Commander, Seventh Army (North Africa and Sicily)	1943	1944
Deputy Chief of Staff, 15th Army Group (later Allied Armies in Italy), and later Deputy Chief of Staff to Supreme Allied Commander, Mediterranean	1944	1945
Chief of Staff, Allied Forces Headquarters (Italy) and Headquarters, Mediterranean Theater of Operations, US Army (MTOUSA)	1945	1945
Army Member of Joint Strategic Survey Committee, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, DC	1945	1947
Deputy Commandant, National War College, Washington, DC	1947	1949
Director of Military Assistance, Office of the Secretary of Defense, Washington, DC.	1949	1950
Commanding General, 11th Airborne Division, Fort Campbell, KY	1950	1951
Commanding General, 7th Infantry Division, Far East Command (FECOM), Korea	1951	1952
Deputy Chief of Staff for Plans and Research, Office, Chief of Staff, Army, Washington, DC. . .	1952	1955
Commanding General, Army Forces, Far East and Eighth Army.	1955	1955
Commander in Chief, Far East and United Nations Command	1955	1957
Vice Chief of Staff, US Army, Washington, DC . . .	1957	1959
Chief of Staff, US Army, Washington, DC	1959	1960
Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, DC. .	1960	1962
Commander in Chief, US European Command and Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (1963)	1962	1969

Principal US Military Decorations and Qualifications

Army Distinguished Service Medal (with 3 oak leaf clusters)

Silver Star

Legion of Merit (Degree of Officer)

Legion of Merit

Parachutist



MAXWELL DAVENPORT TAYLOR

1 October 1962 — 1 July 1964

Maxwell Taylor was born on 26 August 1901 in the small Missouri town of Keytesville, near Kansas City. After attending Northeast High School and Kansas City Junior College, he entered the US Military Academy, graduating fourth in his class in 1922.

Commissioned as an Army engineer, Taylor transferred in 1926 to the field artillery and served one year with the 10th Field Artillery. Thereafter, most of his assignments before World War II made use of his fluency in foreign languages. He taught French and Spanish at West Point. Then in the 1930s he was attached to the US Embassy in Tokyo, Japan, and served as Assistant Military Attaché in Peking, China. In June 1940 Taylor was sent on a special hemispheric defense mission to Latin America. In December 1940 he returned to an artillery assignment as Commander of the 12th Field Artillery Battalion at Fort Sam Houston, Texas.

When the United States entered World War II, Major Taylor was serving in the Office of the Secretary of the War Department General Staff. Promoted to colonel in June 1942, he was assigned as Chief of Staff to Brigadier General Matthew Ridgway at Camp Claiborne, Louisiana. Taylor helped Ridgway transform the 82d Infantry Division into the Army's first airborne division.

Following promotion to brigadier general in December 1942, Taylor took command of the 82d Division Artillery, which saw combat in Sicily and Italy from July 1943 through early 1944. On 7 September 1943 he participated in a daring secret mission behind enemy lines to Rome just twenty-four hours before the scheduled invasion of Italy. His judgment that the risks of

General Maxwell D. Taylor
United States Army



Lieutenant General Taylor in Korea, February 1953.

an airborne landing near Rome were too great resulted in cancellation of the planned air drop. In March 1944 Taylor assumed command of the 101st Airborne Division. He was promoted to major general in June. Taylor parachuted with the division into Normandy on D-Day and commanded it during the

airborne invasion of Holland and in the Ardennes and Central European campaigns.

In September 1945 Major General Taylor became the Superintendent of West Point. After four years at the Academy, he filled successive assignments as Chief of Staff of the European Command; the first US commander

in Berlin; and, on the Army Staff, Assistant Chief of Staff for Operations and, after promotion to lieutenant general in August 1951, Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Administration.

On 11 February 1953 Lieutenant General Taylor assumed command of the Eighth US Army. Under his command, the Eighth Army engaged in the Korean War's last round of bitter fighting. Taylor received his fourth star on 23 June 1953. After the 27 July 1953 armistice, he presided over several massive exchanges of prisoners, helped expand the Republic of Korea's army, and administered the US military assistance program for the Republic of Korea. In November 1954 he assumed command of all US ground forces in Korea, Japan, and Okinawa and, in April 1955, of the US Far East Command and the United Nations Command in Korea.

Appointed Chief of Staff of the Army on 30 June 1955, Taylor served in that position for four years. During his tenure he advocated less reliance on the doctrine of massive nuclear retaliation to a Soviet attack and more dependence on flexible response. Taylor's fight against cutbacks in Army strength put him at odds with his old commander, President Dwight Eisenhower. To make the best use of reduced forces, Taylor decided to substitute firepower for manpower. Under his supervision, the Army replaced the old triangular organization of the infantry division with three regiments with a "pentomic" organization of five small, self-contained battle groups able to disperse or concentrate rapidly on the atomic battlefield and capitalize on the US advantage in tactical nuclear weapons. While Taylor was Chief of Staff, the Army also enforced court-ordered school desegregation in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957 and, together with the US Marines, protected the government of Lebanon during 1958.

After retiring from active duty in July 1959, General Taylor criticized US strategic planning and joint organization in *The Uncertain Trumpet*, published in 1960. This book influenced President John F. Kennedy's decision to adopt the strategy of flexible response. Taylor then pursued a civilian career, first as chairman of the board of the Mexican Light and Power Company and later as president of the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts in New York.

In 1961, at President Kennedy's request, General Taylor returned to public service. In April the President asked him to lead a group to investigate the Bay of Pigs debacle, which had badly shaken the President's confidence in the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Kennedy then recalled Taylor to active duty as his Military Representative at the White House. It was in this capacity that General Taylor first became involved in the expanding US military effort in Southeast Asia. In late 1961, after visiting Saigon, Taylor recommended sending 5,000 to 8,000 US support troops to help South Vietnam resist the growing Viet Cong insurgency.

Impressed with Taylor's advice and ability, President Kennedy appointed him Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on 1 October 1962. Just two weeks after Taylor became Chairman, the United States obtained the first definite evidence that the Soviet Union was secretly establishing missile sites and developing an offensive nuclear capability in Cuba. General Taylor was a member of the Executive Committee (EXCOMM) of the National Security Council, the small group of officials that the President summoned to advise him on a daily basis during the Cuban missile crisis. Speaking on behalf of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Taylor recommended air strikes against Cuba, naval quarantine of the island, and preparation for an invasion. President Kennedy on 22 October directed a naval quarantine of Cuba, alerted a force of some 250,000 men for

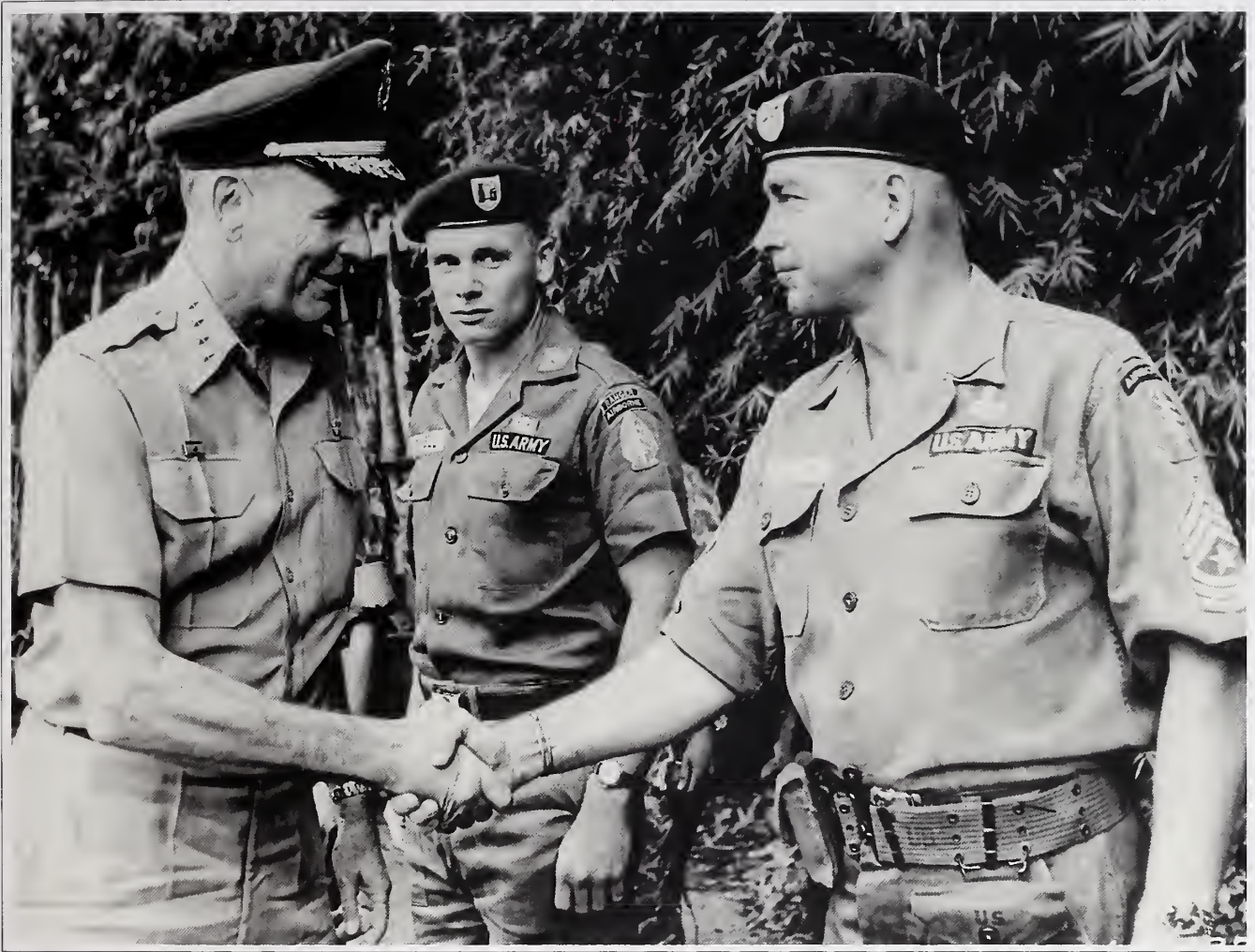


Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy swears in General Taylor as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1 October 1962. President John F. Kennedy looks on.

a possible invasion, and called upon the Soviet Union to withdraw its missiles, but he reserved air strikes as a last resort. The Soviet Union removed the missiles in mid-November, and the crisis passed.

On arms control, General Taylor reversed his longstanding opposition to a nuclear test ban and convinced the Chiefs to do likewise. They had opposed such a treaty as an invitation for the Soviet Union to carry on test-

ing secretly in order to achieve nuclear supremacy. During August 1963, in what Taylor later described as his greatest "diplomatic" triumph, he persuaded his colleagues that a limited test ban was compatible with national security. Following endorsement by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Senate approved the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty with the Soviet Union on 24 September 1963.



General Taylor in South Vietnam, 1963.

While General Taylor was Chairman, the deteriorating situation in South Vietnam increasingly occupied the attention of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. A coup in Saigon, resulting in the assassination of President Ngo Dinh Diem in early November 1963, unleashed further political instability in South Vietnam. The Viet Cong and their North Vietnamese patrons exploited the turmoil by intensifying attacks in the countryside and against US military advisers in South Vietnam. In March 1964 the new President, Lyndon B. Johnson, directed the Joint Chiefs of Staff to draw up plans for retaliatory air strikes against North Vietnam. Following

trips to Saigon in the spring of 1964, General Taylor and Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara urged continued support of the South Vietnamese counterinsurgency effort, short of US ground combat involvement. They did recommend planning for air strikes and possible commando raids against North Vietnam, a course that was not followed until after Taylor's retirement.

On 1 July 1964 President Johnson named Taylor the US Ambassador to South Vietnam, and General Taylor retired from military service for a second time. In Saigon, Ambassador Taylor witnessed both the introduction of US ground combat troops into South

Vietnam and the launching of a US air campaign against North Vietnam, actions that had been actively considered while he was Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

After resigning as ambassador in mid-1965, Taylor served on the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board and as a special adviser to President Johnson. He was president of the Institute for Defense Analyses

from 1966 to 1969. Throughout his retirement General Taylor wrote and lectured widely on defense and national security matters. His major works include *Responsibility and Response* (1967), *Swords and Plowshares* (1972), *Changing Dynamics of National Security* (1974), and *Precarious Security* (1976). General Taylor died at Walter Reed Army Medical Center on 19 April 1987.

Maxwell Davenport Taylor

General, USA

Promotions

Dates

	Temporary	Permanent
2LT		13 Jun 22
1LT		09 Mar 27
CPT.		21 Aug 35
MAJ		09 Jul 40
LTC	01 Jan 42.	13 Jun 45
COL	24 Jun 42	
BG	11 Dec 42.	24 Jan 48
MG	21 Jun 44.	08 Mar 52
LTG	01 Aug 51	
GEN.	23 Jun 53	

Assignments

Dates

	From	To
Student, Engineer School, Fort Humphreys, VA, and Officer, 17th Engineers, Camp Meade, MD	1922	1923
3d Engineers, Schofield Barracks, HI	1923	1926
6th Engineers, Camp Lewis, WA; transferred to 10th Field Artillery	1926	1927
Student of French language, Paris, France; then Instructor, US Military Academy, West Point, NY	1927	1932
Student, Field Artillery School, Fort Sill, OK	1932	1933
Student, Command and General Staff School, Fort Leavenworth, KS	1933	1935
Student of Japanese language, US Embassy, Tokyo, Japan; Assistant Military Attaché, Peking, China (1937)	1935	1939
Student, Army War College, Washington, DC	1939	1940
Member, War Plans Division, on Hemisphere Defense Mission to Latin America	1940	1940
Commander, 12th Artillery Battalion, Fort Sam Houston, TX	1940	1941
Office of Secretary, General Staff, War Department, Washington, DC	1941	1942
Chief of Staff, 82d Airborne Division, Camp Claiborne, LA; then Division Artillery Commander, 82d Airborne Division, Fort Bragg, NC	1942	1943

Assignments

Dates

	From	To
Division Artillery Commander, 82d Airborne Division, Sicily and Italy	1943	1944
Commanding General, 101st Airborne Division, Normandy, Western and Central Europe	1944	1945
Superintendent, US Military Academy, West Point, NY	1945	1949
Chief of Staff, European Command, Heidelberg, Germany	1949	1949
US Commander, Berlin	1949	1951
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3 and Deputy Chief of Staff, Operations and Administration, Department of the Army, Washington, DC	1951	1953
Commanding General, Eighth Army, Korea, Army Forces, Far East	1953	1954
Commanding General, US Army Forces, Far East and Eighth US Army, Far East Command.	1954	1955
Commander in Chief, Far East Command	1955	1955
Chief of Staff, US Army, Washington, DC	1955	1959
Retired from active service, 30 June 1959		
Recalled to active duty, 1 July 1961		
Military Representative of the President, Washington, DC	1961	1962
Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, DC. . .	1962	1964

Principal US Military Decorations and Qualifications

Distinguished Service Cross

Army Distinguished Service Medal (with 3 oak leaf clusters)

Silver Star (with oak leaf cluster)

Legion of Merit

Bronze Star

Purple Heart

Parachutist



EARLE GILMORE WHEELER

3 July 1964 — 2 July 1970

Earle Wheeler was born in Washington, DC, on 13 January 1908. After attending Eastern High School, he joined the DC National Guard at the age of sixteen and rose to the rank of sergeant. He then entered the US Military Academy in 1928. After graduating in 1932, Wheeler spent the next twelve years as an infantry officer, serving from company to division level. He also taught mathematics at West Point and graduated from the Command and General Staff College. In 1942 he commanded an infantry battalion.

During World War II Wheeler rose to colonel. As Chief of Staff of the 63d Infantry Division, he went overseas with the division in December 1944. Wheeler participated in campaigns that halted the German drive in Alsace-Lorraine, breached the Siegfried Line, seized Heidelberg, and crossed the Danube. He was selected to lead an assault regiment against Hitler's mountain fortress in the Bavarian Alps but missed his opportunity for combat command when Germany surrendered as the operation was about to begin.

After the war, Wheeler served in a variety of command and staff assignments. He commanded the 351st Infantry Regiment in Italy in 1951 and 1952. He was then assigned to Allied Forces Southern Europe in Naples, Italy, first as Readiness Officer and then as Assistant Chief of Staff for Plans and Operations. On his return to the United States in 1955, Wheeler joined the Army Staff as Director of Plans in the Office of the Operations Deputy. He was promoted to major general in December 1955 and in 1957 became Assistant Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations. While serving in that position, he was chosen to head a joint committee to study ways to make interservice planning and decision making more effective.

General Earle G. Wheeler

United States Army



Colonel Wheeler inspects an honor guard in Trieste, November 1951.

From 1958 until 1960 Wheeler commanded the 2d Armored Division and III Corps in Texas. Promoted to lieutenant general, Wheeler returned to the Pentagon in 1960 as Director of the Joint Staff. In March 1962 the Army promoted him to general and he was assigned as Deputy Commander in Chief of the European Command.

After only seven months Wheeler returned to Washington in October 1962 as Chief of Staff of the Army. In addition to developing the Army's air assault division and improving the overseas reinforcement system, he helped persuade the other Service

Chiefs to support the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty with the Soviet Union. During Wheeler's twenty-one months in office, Army troops were deployed for possible use during both the Cuban missile crisis and civil rights disturbances in Mississippi and Alabama. Following a visit to South Vietnam in late 1962, Wheeler argued for augmenting US support troops and advisers to help the Saigon government deal more effectively with the Viet Cong insurgency.

General Wheeler became Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on 3 July 1964. During the next four years he was a regular attendee

at President Lyndon Johnson's Tuesday luncheons of senior policy advisers and at other high-level national security conferences. Wheeler's influence, however, was overshadowed by that of Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara. As Chairman, General Wheeler worked with marked success to eliminate dissents or "splits" in JCS recommendations, which, he believed, only invited interference by McNamara. But Wheeler's approach did not succeed. Unanimity did not translate into greater JCS influence, and McNamara determined military policies to a degree that none of his predecessors had approached.

The Vietnam War consumed much of Wheeler's time and energy during the six years he served as Chairman. Initially, Wheeler and the Chiefs believed that US air power—without ground troops or the risk of a land war with China—could assist South Vietnam in defeating communist aggression. Throughout late 1964 and early 1965, Wheeler presented the President and his civilian advisers JCS recommendations for retaliatory air strikes and then for a sustained air campaign against North Vietnam. In February 1965 President Johnson approved a bombing campaign, though not on the scale recommended by the Chiefs. By the time the air operations got under way the following month, the situation in South Vietnam had worsened. Wheeler and his JCS colleagues no longer thought an air campaign alone would suffice and recommended the commitment of ground forces. Although Johnson approved ground force deployments, they were not of the magnitude preferred by the Chiefs.

From 1965 through early 1968, Wheeler led the Chiefs in recommending an expanded air campaign against North Vietnam and increased deployment of ground troops to South Vietnam. Johnson listened carefully to Wheeler and approved gradually expanded bombing and larger force deployments, but

always at slower and smaller rates than those advocated by the Chiefs. Such "gradualism," Wheeler and his colleagues argued, failed to punish the enemy sufficiently to force him to end the war in Vietnam.

The Tet offensive of January 1968 marked a turning point in Wheeler's and the Joint Chiefs' influence on the conduct of the war. Although the offensive was costly for the enemy, it proved a psychological victory. The magnitude of the surprise attack greatly increased opposition to the war in the United States. As a consequence, President Johnson increasingly disregarded JCS advice and proceeded to limit the bombing of North Vietnam, place a hold on further troop increases in South Vietnam, and call for negotiations to end the fighting. Wheeler continued to attend all high-level White House meetings on Vietnam, but his recommendations and advice on the war had little impact. In July 1968, however, Johnson sought and received congressional approval to extend Wheeler's chairmanship for an additional year.

Though preoccupied with the war, President Johnson planned to begin negotiations with the Soviet Union for strategic arms limitations. In July 1968 Wheeler established the position of Assistant to the Chairman for Strategic Arms Negotiations. Toward the end of General Wheeler's tenure as Chairman, President Richard Nixon's Secretary of Defense, Melvin Laird, authorized a support staff for the position, and this office became the focal point for military support to the US delegation to the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT).

In 1969 President Nixon secured another year's extension of Wheeler's tenure as Chairman. Determined to end US involvement in the war, Nixon adopted a policy of Vietnamization, the gradual withdrawal of US forces and buildup of South Vietnamese combat capabilities, while also negotiating with



General Wheeler and General Creighton W. Abrams in South Vietnam, October 1969.

the North Vietnamese. Political necessity compelled larger and faster US withdrawals than Wheeler and his colleagues thought prudent.

General Wheeler retired on 2 July 1970 after an unprecedented six years in office. Those who knew him best detected his great

frustration over his failure to win civilian approval of the strategy that he believed would win the war in Vietnam. The stress of these six years led to several heart attacks that greatly weakened Wheeler's health. He died on 18 December 1975 in Frederick, Maryland.



General Wheeler and his family with President Richard M. Nixon following a ceremony at the White House, where Wheeler received the Defense Distinguished Service Medal, 9 July 1970.

Earle Gilmore Wheeler

General, USA

Promotions

	Dates	
	Temporary	Permanent
2LT		10 Jun 32
1LT		01 Aug 35
CPT.	09 Sep 40	10 Jun 42
MAJ	01 Feb 42	
LTC.	11 Nov 42	
COL	26 Jun 43	
LTC (postwar reduction)	01 Jul 47.	01 Jul 48
COL	07 Sep 50	06 Oct 53
BG	08 Nov 52.	13 May 60
MG	21 Dec 55.	30 Jun 61
LTG.	21 Apr 60	
GEN	01 Mar 62	

Assignments

	Dates	
	From	To
29th Infantry, Fort Benning, GA	1932	1936
Infantry School, Fort Benning, GA	1936	1937
15th Infantry Regiment, Tientsin, China, and Fort Lewis, WA	1937	1940
Instructor, US Military Academy, West Point, NY	1940	1941
Aide-de-Camp to Commanding General, 36th Infantry Division, Fort Sam Houston and Camp Bowie, TX	1941	1941
Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS	1941	1942
Battalion Commander, 141st Infantry Regiment, Camp Blanding, FL	1942	1942
G-3, 99th Infantry Division; Chief of Staff, 63rd Infantry Division, Camp Van Dorn, MS	1942	1944
Chief of Staff, 63d Infantry Division, European Theater of Operations	1944	1945
Instructor, Field Artillery School, Fort Sill, OK	1945	1946
Deputy Chief of Staff, Headquarters, Western Base Section, France	1946	1947

Assignments

	Dates	
	From	To
G-3, Headquarters, US Constabulary, Heidelberg, Germany	1947	1949
Student, National War College, Fort McNair, Washington, DC	1949	1950
Member, Joint Intelligence Group, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, DC	1950	1951
Commanding Officer, 351st Infantry Regiment, Trieste; then Deputy Commanding General, US Troops, Trieste	1951	1952
Readiness Officer, then Assistant Chief of Staff for Plans and Operations, Allied Forces, Southern Europe (NATO), Naples, Italy.	1952	1955
Director of Plans, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations, US Army, Washington, DC	1955	1957
Assistant Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations, Washington, DC	1957	1958
Commanding General, 2d Armored Division, Fort Hood, TX	1958	1959
Commanding General, III Corps and 2d Armored Division, Fort Hood, TX.	1959	1960
Director, Joint Staff, Washington, DC	1960	1962
Deputy Commander in Chief, US European Command, Camp des Loges, France.	1962	1962
Chief of Staff, US Army, Washington, DC	1962	1964
Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, DC.	1964	1970

Principal US Military Decorations

Defense Distinguished Service Medal
Army Distinguished Service Medal (with 2 oak leaf clusters)
Navy Distinguished Service Medal
Air Force Distinguished Service Medal
Legion of Merit
Bronze Star (with oak leaf cluster)
Army Commendation Medal (with oak leaf cluster)



THOMAS HINMAN MOORER

2 July 1970 — 1 July 1974

Thomas Moorer was born in Mt. Willing, Alabama, on 9 February 1912. After he graduated as valedictorian from Cloverdale High School in nearby Montgomery in 1927, his interest in technology and a “natural attraction” to military service led Moorer to enter the US Naval Academy. He graduated in 1933. After completing training as an aviator at the Pensacola Naval Air Station in 1936, he flew with fighter squadrons based on the carriers *Langley*, *Lexington*, and *Enterprise*.

Lieutenant Moorer was serving with a patrol squadron at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, when the Japanese attacked in December 1941. His unit subsequently participated in the Dutch East Indies campaign of early 1942, during which he flew numerous combat missions. He received a Purple Heart after being shot down and wounded off the coast of Australia in February 1942 and then surviving an attack on the rescue ship, which was sunk the same day. Three months later, he braved Japanese air superiority to fly supplies into and evacuate wounded out of the island of Timor. For this action, he received the Distinguished Flying Cross for valor. He was promoted to lieutenant commander in October 1942.

In 1943 and 1944 Moorer commanded Bombing Squadron 132, which conducted anti-submarine warfare against the Germans off the coasts of Florida, Cuba, and North Africa. He was promoted to commander in April 1944, soon after becoming the gunnery and tactical officer on the staff of the Air Commander of the Atlantic Fleet.

Admiral Thomas H. Moorer
United States Navy



Lieutenant (Junior Grade) Moorer, *third from left*, with his PBY crew, Ford Island, Hawaii, 1940.

After the war Moorer was assigned to the Strategic Bombing Survey in Japan. Before his promotion to captain in January 1952, his assignments included serving as Project Officer for the development of the Sidewinder missile and in air operations at sea. After graduating from the Naval War College in 1953, he served on the staff of the Air Commander of the Atlantic Fleet and then as Aide to the Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Air.

In 1956 he assumed command of his first ship, the *USS Salisbury Sound* (AV-13), a seaplane tender that sailed extensively in the Far East.

Captain Moorer joined the Navy Staff as a strategic planner in 1957. In 1958 he became Assistant Chief of Naval Operations for War Gaming Matters and was promoted to rear admiral. After a year at sea in command of Carrier Division SIX, Moorer returned to the Navy Staff in 1960 to direct the Long Range



Admiral Moorer, Commander in Chief, Atlantic, greets Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey at the US Naval Air Station, Norfolk, Virginia, June 1965.

Objectives Group. In 1962 he was promoted to vice admiral and assumed command of the Seventh Fleet.

In June 1964 Moorer received his fourth star and became Commander in Chief of the Pacific Fleet. Two months after he assumed command, the United States became involved in a war in Vietnam. In August the destroyer USS *Maddox* was attacked while on patrol in the Tonkin Gulf off the coast of Vietnam, and Pacific Fleet planes took part in a retaliatory strike against North Vietnam. Admiral

Moorer left the Pacific Fleet on 30 March 1965, just two weeks after its air forces joined in ROLLING THUNDER, the US air campaign against North Vietnam. He remarked that he felt "like a fire chief that leaves a roaring fire just when he gets the hoses hooked up and is ready to turn on the water."

On 30 April 1965 Moorer assumed command of NATO's Allied Command, Atlantic; the US Atlantic Command; and the Atlantic Fleet. He was the only officer in the Navy's history to command both the Pacific and



Admiral Moorer in South Vietnam, August 1969.

Atlantic Fleets. As CINCLANT, Moorer successfully concluded the US operation in the Dominican Republic. As Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic, he initiated a major revision in NATO maritime strategy, developing the concept of a standing naval force for the Allied Command, Atlantic.

On 1 August 1967 Admiral Moorer became Chief of Naval Operations. For the

next three years he guided the Navy during the height of the Vietnam War, a period characterized by growing antipathy at home toward US military involvement in Southeast Asia and the beginning of Soviet naval challenges to US maritime dominance. Moorer marshalled available resources to counter the expansion of large Soviet task forces into the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, and the Indian

Ocean. Despite fiscal constraints and the needs of the Vietnam War, he was particularly successful in modernizing US submarines to assure their continued technical superiority.

On 2 July 1970 Admiral Moorer became the seventh Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He was the first naval officer to hold the post since Admiral Radford. As Chairman, Moorer often found his and the Chiefs' advice disregarded by the President and the Secretary of Defense. Nevertheless, he believed that the Chairman's position was sufficiently strong and that the joint system worked well; he saw no need to revamp JCS organization. According to Moorer, personalities, not organization charts, made all the difference.

In December 1971 the Secretary of Defense revised the World-Wide Military Command and Control System (WWMCCS), the systems and procedures that linked the President and the field commanders. The chain for communicating commands continued to run from the President to the Secretary of Defense through the Joint Chiefs to the unified and specified commanders. For emergency and crisis situations, however, the Secretary specified a shortened chain through the Chairman representing the Chiefs. This change merely reflected the existing situation. In many Vietnam actions during his first eighteen months in office, Admiral Moorer had dealt directly with field commanders on operational issues. During the September 1970 Middle East crisis in which the regime of Jordan's pro-Western King Hussein was threatened, Moorer had acted for the Chiefs because time was critical and had informed them later.

When Moorer took office, the process of Vietnamization, whereby the Vietnamese assumed progressively greater responsibility for combat operations and US forces withdrew, had been under way for over a year. Although he and the Chiefs accepted the con-

cept of Vietnamization, they disagreed with the President and top civilian advisers over the pace of the US withdrawals. The Joint Chiefs favored smaller and slower US reductions to allow the South Vietnamese more time to adjust to their expanding combat role.

Moorer was particularly perturbed over the rules of engagement in Southeast Asia and the restraints placed on US military action there. He repeatedly recommended the mining of Haiphong harbor and heavy bombing around the Hanoi area. He and the Chiefs believed that increased naval and air pressure on North Vietnam would lead to a peace settlement, but their advice was rejected and US forces withdrew at a rate that the Joint Chiefs deemed "too much too soon." From nearly 415,000 troops in South Vietnam in 1970, troop strength declined to 25,000 by the end of 1972. In late 1972, President Richard Nixon directed naval and air bombardment of previously prohibited targets in the Hanoi and Haiphong area, and on 27 January 1973 the North Vietnamese agreed to an accord. Moorer felt vindicated, since the military measures that he had long advocated had worked.

As JCS representative in the various NSC committees, Moorer was deeply involved in the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT). In May 1972 President Nixon went to Moscow for the final and climactic round of SALT. The afternoon and evening of 25 May witnessed tense exchanges of messages as the President sought JCS acceptance of the final terms negotiated in Moscow. Moorer recommended rejecting them to make the Soviets give more ground, but Nixon pressed strongly for JCS concurrence. Moorer then presided over a hastily arranged JCS conference from which a statement of their "accord" with the agreement finally emerged. Afterward, Moorer joked that he had gone through the entire dictionary to find this acceptable word.

Admiral Moorer also was concerned about declining conventional force levels. He saw force recommendations by the Joint Chiefs reduced by the President and then again by Congress and worried that conventional capabilities were being cut below the danger point. Repeatedly, during high-level meetings he warned that an essential element in any strategic equation was the communist threat, which was real and rising, and that the United States should enhance its ability to respond conventionally to that threat.

In October 1973, when Egypt and Syria attacked Israeli forces in occupied territory that Israel had won from them during the 1967 Six Day War, the Joint Chiefs of Staff supervised a large airlift of arms to Israel directed by President Nixon. Admiral Moorer

worried about whether the Arabs would turn to the Soviet Union and thereby imperil US access to Middle East oil. In fact, Israel won such successes against Egypt that the Soviet Union did threaten to intervene. At a midnight meeting in the White House, Moorer said bluntly that the Middle East would be the worst place to fight a war with the Soviet Union. He supported the administration's decisions, however, to deter Moscow by ordering a worldwide alert, stopping Israel's advance, and then restoring ties with the Arab states.

Admiral Moorer retired as Chairman on 1 July 1974. In retirement, he served as a senior adviser at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, DC, and on several corporate boards.

Thomas Hinman Moorer

Admiral, USN

Promotions

Dates

Temporary

Permanent

ENS.	01 Jun 33
LTJG	01 Jun 36
LT.	23 Nov 40
LCDR	01 Oct 42
CDR	27 Apr 44
CAPT.	01 Jan 52
RADM	01 Aug 58
VADM	05 Oct 62
ADM.	26 Jun 64

Assignments

Dates

From

To

USS <i>Salt Lake City</i>	1933	1933
Navy Yard, New York, NY; CFO USS <i>New Orleans</i>	1933	1935
Student, Naval Air Station, Pensacola, FL.	1935	1936
Fighter Squadron ONE-B	1936	1937
Fighter Squadron SIX	1937	1939
Patrol Squadron 22	1939	1942
Patrol Squadron 101	1942	1942
Transition Training Squadron, Atlantic Fleet	1942	1943
Commanding Officer, Bombing Squadron 132	1943	1944
Gunnery and Tactical Officer, Staff, Commander Air Force, Atlantic Fleet	1944	1945
Member of Strategic Bombing Survey (Japan), Staff, Office of Chief of Naval Operations.	1945	1946
Executive Officer, Naval Aviation Ordnance Test Station, Chincoteague, VA	1946	1948
Operations Officer, USS <i>Midway</i>	1948	1949
Operations Officer, Carrier Division FOUR.	1949	1950
Experimental Officer, Naval Ordnance Test Station, Inyokern, CA	1950	1951
Student, Naval War College, Newport, RI	1952	1953
Plans Officer, Staff, Commander Air Force, Atlantic Fleet	1953	1955
Aide to the Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Air, Washington, DC	1955	1956

Assignments

	Dates	
	From	To
Commanding Officer, USS <i>Salisbury Sound</i>	1956	1957
Assistant Director, Strategic Plans Division, Office of Chief of Naval Operations, Washington, DC	1957	1958
Joint Operations Analysis Group, Washington, DC	1958	1958
Assistant Chief of Naval Operations (War Gaming Matters), Washington, DC	1958	1959
Commander, Carrier Division SIX	1959	1960
Director, Long Range Objectives Group, Office of Chief of Naval Operations, Washington, DC	1960	1962
Commander, SEVENTH Fleet	1962	1964
Commander in Chief, US Pacific Fleet.	1964	1965
Commander in Chief, Atlantic and Atlantic Fleet and Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic	1965	1967
Chief of Naval Operations, Washington, DC	1967	1970
Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, DC.	1970	1974

Principal US Military Decorations and Qualifications

Defense Distinguished Service Medal (with oak leaf cluster)

Navy Distinguished Service Medal (with 4 gold stars)

Army Distinguished Service Medal

Air Force Distinguished Service Medal

Silver Star

Legion of Merit

Distinguished Flying Cross

Purple Heart

Naval Aviator

[illegible]



GEORGE SCRATCHLEY BROWN

1 July 1974 — 20 June 1978

George Brown was born in Montclair, New Jersey, on 17 August 1918. His father was a West Point graduate and career cavalry officer. After high school in Leavenworth, Kansas, Brown attended the University of Missouri. He then followed in his father's footsteps and entered the US Military Academy, where he excelled as a cadet captain, regimental adjutant, and polo player.

Following his 1941 graduation and primary and advanced flight training, Brown served as a bomber pilot in Europe during World War II. He participated in the famous low-level bombing raid against the oil refineries in Ploesti, Romania, in August 1943. When the lead plane and ten others of his forty-plane group were lost, Major Brown led the surviving planes back to base. He received the Distinguished Service Cross for his heroism. Promotions came rapidly during World War II, and in October 1944 Brown attained the rank of colonel.

After the war, Colonel Brown served in a variety of command and staff billets. During the last year of the Korean War, he was Director of Operations of the Fifth Air Force in Seoul, Korea. After graduating from the National War College in 1957, Brown served as Executive Assistant to the Chief of Staff of the Air Force and then Military Assistant to the Deputy Secretary of Defense. He was promoted to brigadier general in August 1959 and served as Military Assistant to Secretaries of Defense Thomas Gates and Robert McNamara. Promoted to major general in April 1963, he commanded the Eastern Transport Air Force, McGuire Air Force Base, New Jersey, from 1963 to 1964 and

General George S. Brown
United States Air Force



General Brown in the cockpit of a UH-1 helicopter in South Vietnam, October 1968.

Joint Task Force II, a JCS all-service weapons testing unit at Sandia Base, New Mexico, from 1964 to 1966. After promotion to lieutenant general in August 1966, Brown became Assistant to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Two years later he received his fourth star.

From 1968 to 1970 General Brown served as Commander of the Seventh Air Force in Vietnam and Deputy Commander for Air Operations, United States Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (USMACV). Responsible for all US air operations in South Vietnam, which he coordinated with those of the South Vietnamese air force, Brown advised the MACV Commander on all matters pertaining to tactical air support. He returned to the

United States in 1970 and became Commander of Air Force Systems Command, Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland.

On 1 August 1973 General Brown became the Chief of Staff of the Air Force. In that position, he campaigned to upgrade the strategic bomber program. Brown pushed to replace the aging B-52s with B-1s, swing-wing aircraft that could carry the latest electronic equipment and twice the payload of the B-52s and penetrate deeper into Soviet territory.

Appointed by President Richard Nixon, General Brown became the eighth Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on 1 July 1974. He was the first Air Force officer since General Twining to fill the position. As Chairman,



General Brown visits US Marines during an exercise in Puerto Rico, February 1975.

Brown served under three Presidents during a period of limited budgets and constrained force structure.

A few months after becoming Chairman, General Brown made off-the-cuff remarks that led to a public rebuke by President Gerald R. Ford. In October 1974 during a question-and-answer session following a speech he had delivered at Duke University Law School, Brown suggested that Israel had undue influence over US national security policy and referred to the power of Jews and their money in the United States. When a public uproar followed, Brown apologized for his remarks. Nevertheless, in an interview published two years later, he made

similar comments as well as intemperate remarks about Britain and Iran. Despite this episode, President Ford and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld endorsed Brown's continuing as Chairman, and he served under President Jimmy Carter as well.

Strategic arms limitation talks took up much of General Brown's time as Chairman. He and the Chiefs stressed the need to maintain "essential equivalence," which meant finding a formula by which the US lead in missile re-entry vehicles would offset Soviet superiority in missile throw-weight. The Vladivostok accords of November 1974 established broad limits for both sides. Complex negotiations followed, centering on



General Brown with Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger, November 1975.

trading ceilings on US cruise missiles for ceilings on Soviet Backfire bombers. These negotiations were nearing completion when General Brown retired.

After the US withdrawal from Vietnam, the South Vietnamese military was not successful in holding its own against the North Vietnamese forces. General Brown led the Joint Chiefs in urging US air and naval deployments to the area around South Vietnam to signal US support for the Saigon government. But public and congressional opposition to any further involvement in Vietnam precluded approval of any military action. Then in early March 1975, the North Vietnamese launched an offensive that quickly overran the South Vietnamese forces and climaxed with the fall of Saigon on 30 April.

General Brown participated in decision making over the US response to two con-

frontations in the Far East that were widely perceived as testing US will in the aftermath of the communist takeover of South Vietnam. On 12 May 1975, less than two weeks after the fall of Saigon, sailors of Cambodia's radical communist regime seized the US merchant ship *SS Mayaguez* on the high seas in the Gulf of Thailand. While jets from the carrier *USS Coral Sea* sank three Cambodian naval vessels and attacked a Cambodian air base, US Marines retook the ship and stormed Koh Tang Island, where they believed the crew was being held. This operation, which brought release of the crew, found wide support in the United States.

In August 1976, when North Korean guards killed two US officers and wounded several US and South Korean enlisted men trying to trim a tree in the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) dividing the two Koreas, President

Ford, at the strong urging of General Brown and the Chiefs, reinforced US forces in and around South Korea. Meanwhile, a large party of US and South Korean soldiers entered the DMZ and cut down the tree, which was obscuring surveillance of the zone.

General Brown played a crucial role in the success of the 1977 negotiations to transfer ownership of the Panama Canal from the United States to Panama. His willingness to

make concessions to Panama, softening the US position, made it possible to reach an agreement, and his support for the agreement was instrumental in securing the treaty's ratification by the Senate in April 1978.

Stricken with cancer, General Brown retired from active duty on 20 June 1978, ten days before the expiration of his second term as Chairman. Less than six months later, on 5 December 1978, he died.

George Scratchley Brown

General, USAF

Promotions

Dates

Temporary

Permanent

2LT		11 Jun 41
1LT	18 Jun 42	12 Jun 44
CPT.	20 Oct 42	
MAJ	13 Feb 43	03 Sep 48
LTC.	27 Aug 43.	12 Apr 51
COL	01 Oct 44	24 Apr 56
BG	01 Aug 59.	30 Jan 62
MG	01 Apr 63	27 Feb 64
LTG.	01 Aug 66	
GEN	01 Aug 68	

Assignments

Dates

From

To

Student, Primary and Advanced Flying Schools, Pine Bluff, AR, and Kelly Field, TX	1941	1942
Pilot, B-24 Transportation Training, 344th Bombardment Squadron, Barksdale Field, LA . .	1942	1942
Pilot, B-24; Flight Commander, later Commander, 329th Bombardment Squadron, 93d Bombardment Group, Barksdale Field, LA; Fort Myers Army Air Base, FL; Grenier Field, NH; England, and later Libya	1942	1943
Air Executive Officer, 93d Bombardment Group, Libya, later England	1943	1944
Assistant Operations Officer, 2d Bombardment Division, England	1944	1945
Assistant to Air Chief of Staff, Operations, Headquarters, Army Air Force Training Command, Fort Worth, TX, later Barksdale Field, LA	1945	1946
Assistant to Air Chief of Staff, Operations, Air Defense Command (ADC), Mitchel Field, NY.	1946	1948
Assistant Deputy Chief for Operations, ADC (later Continental Air Command), Mitchel Air Force Base, NY	1948	1950

Assignments	Dates	
	From	To
Commander, 62d Troop Carrier Group, McChord Air Force Base, WA.	1950	1951
Commander, 56th Fighter Interceptor Wing, Air Defense Command; later Commander, 4708th Defense Wing, Selfridge Air Force Base, MI	1951	1952
Assistant Director and later Director of Operations, Fifth Air Force, Korea	1952	1953
Commander, 3525th Pilot Training Wing, Williams Air Force Base, AZ	1953	1956
Student, National War College, Washington, DC. . .	1956	1957
Executive Assistant to Chief of Staff, US Air Force, Washington, DC	1957	1959
Military Assistant to Deputy Secretary of Defense, Washington, DC	1959	1959
Military Assistant to Secretary of Defense, Washington, DC	1959	1963
Commander, Eastern Transport Air Force, McGuire Air Force Base, NJ.	1963	1964
Commander, Joint Task Force II, Sandia Base, NM. .	1964	1966
Assistant to Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, DC	1966	1968
Commander, Seventh Air Force and Deputy Commander for Air Operations, Military Assistance Command, Vietnam.	1968	1970
Commander, Air Force Systems Command, Andrews Air Force Base, MD.	1970	1973
Chief of Staff, US Air Force, Washington, DC. . . .	1973	1974
Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, DC. .	1974	1978

Principal US Military Decorations and Qualifications

Distinguished Service Cross
 Defense Distinguished Service Medal
 Air Force Distinguished Service Medal (with 3 oak leaf clusters)
 Silver Star
 Legion of Merit (with 2 oak leaf clusters)
 Distinguished Flying Cross (with oak leaf cluster)
 Bronze Star
 Air Medal (with 3 oak leaf clusters)
 Joint Service Commendation Medal
 Army Commendation Medal

Command Pilot



DAVID CHARLES JONES

21 June 1978 — 18 June 1982

David Jones was born on 9 July 1921 in Aberdeen, South Dakota. He grew up in Minot, North Dakota, where he often rode his bicycle to a nearby airfield and dreamed of becoming a combat pilot. After graduating from the local high school, he attended the University of North Dakota and Minot State College. Jones left college in April 1942, volunteering for the US Army Air Corps. An aviation cadet, he earned his commission and pilot wings in 1943.

After serving as a flying instructor in New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas, Lieutenant Jones was assigned to the 3d Emergency Rescue Squadron of the Fifth Air Force in Japan in 1945. He began as a unit pilot, flying Catalina flying boats, and rose to command the squadron. He was promoted to captain in April 1946. From 1948 to 1949 Jones was a unit instructor and then Assistant Operations and Training Officer with the 2236th Air Force Reserve Training Center, Godman Field, Kentucky. During this period, he also attended the Air Tactical School at Tyndall Air Force Base, Florida; the Atomic Energy Course at Keesler Air Force Base, Mississippi; and the Armed Forces Special Weapons Course at Sandia Base, New Mexico.

Assigned to the 19th Bombardment Squadron at March Air Force Base, California, in January 1950, Jones was promoted to major in February 1951. During his three and one-half years with the 19th, he rose to aircraft commander, then operations officer, and finally commander of the squadron. He flew more than three hundred hours on combat missions over North Korea when the squadron was one of the first bombardment units committed to the

General David C. Jones
United States Air Force



Captain Jones following award of the Distinguished Flying Cross, October 1950.

Korean War. In May 1953 Jones transitioned from bombers to tankers, taking command of the 22d Air Refueling Squadron at March. Promoted to lieutenant colonel in June 1953, he remained at March but returned to bombers the following year as Commander of the 33d Bombardment Squadron.

Jones served at Headquarters, Strategic Air Command (SAC), Offutt Air Force Base, Nebraska, during SAC's buildup. Assigned in September 1954, he was an operations planner in the Bomber Mission Branch until January 1955, when the SAC Commander in Chief, General Curtis LeMay, selected him as

his aide. Promoted in April 1957, Colonel Jones became Director of Materiel and later Deputy Commander for Maintenance of SAC's 93d Bombardment Wing at Castle Air Force Base, California.

After graduating from the National War College in 1960, Jones was assigned to the Air Staff's Operations Directorate for four years. As Chief of the Manned Systems Branch, he worked on the B-70 bomber project. He next served as Deputy Chief and then Chief of the Strategic Division. After F-100 and F-4 training, he assumed command of the 33d Tactical Fighter Wing, Eglin Air Force Base,



General Jones, as Air Force Chief of Staff, greets President Gerald R. Ford, 1975. Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger and Deputy Secretary of Defense William P. Clements look on.

Florida, at its activation in 1965 and brought it to operationally ready status.

Jones then served in key staff assignments with US Air Forces, Europe (USAFE). In October 1965 he became USAFE Inspector General, responsible for inspecting units at over ninety installations in ten countries. He was promoted to brigadier general in December 1965. In January 1967 he became USAFE Chief of Staff and in June Deputy Chief of Staff for Plans and Operations. He received his second star in November 1967.

In February 1969, Jones was assigned to Headquarters, Seventh Air Force, Tan Son Nhut Airfield, Republic of Vietnam, as Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations. He became Vice Commander in June. Promoted to lieutenant general, he returned to SAC in August 1969 as Commander of the Second Air Force, headquartered at Barksdale Air Force Base, Louisiana.

In April 1971 Jones returned to USAFE as Vice Commander in Chief. He assumed command of USAFE and Fourth Allied Tactical

Air Force in August and was promoted to general in September. In his NATO capacity as Commander of Fourth Allied Tactical Air Force, General Jones directed an international planning team that integrated Central Region air forces into a more cohesive organization. Central to this effort was his creation of a small operational and planning headquarters, Allied Air Forces, Central Europe.

After a career which had included operational and command positions in bomber, tanker, training, and tactical fighter units as well as headquarters staff positions, General Jones became Chief of Staff of the Air Force in July 1974. In that position, he advocated the development of high-technology weapons systems, reorganized the Air Force command structure, and substantially reduced headquarters staffs. Appointed by President Richard M. Nixon, General Jones subsequently developed a close working relationship with Secretary of Defense Harold Brown and President Jimmy Carter. In April 1978 Carter nominated him to be Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The nomination was controversial. Critics in the military and Congress argued that Jones should have fought to reverse the President's 1977 decision to cancel the B-1 bomber. General Jones, however, believed that the Air Force's earlier efforts to prove the error of President John F. Kennedy's decision to cancel the B-70 had been detrimental to the long-term interests of the service. Although Jones was a strong advocate of the B-1, he maintained that it was wrong to try to overturn the decision of the Commander in Chief.

General Jones became the ninth Chairman on 21 June 1978. He was the only Chairman who was not a college or service academy graduate. Jones served four years under two Presidents. With the four years that he had served as Air Force Chief of Staff, his tenure on the Joint Chiefs of Staff was longer

than that of any other member in JCS history. He presided over the Joint Chiefs of Staff during a period of increasing Soviet military power and the emergence of militant Islam as a threat to pro-Western regimes in the Persian Gulf region. His tenure as Chairman saw increased funding for defense in response to the Soviet threat and continuing JCS advocacy of strategic force modernization despite progress on strategic arms control.

Jones accompanied President Carter to Vienna in June 1979 for the final stage of the SALT II negotiations with the Soviet Union. While the Joint Chiefs had reservations about aspects of the completed agreement, Jones's congressional testimony reflected their view that the limitations it imposed did not themselves pose a danger to the United States. He cautioned, however, that maintenance of strategic parity within these limits required ongoing strategic modernization and warned that there was a risk that SALT II could become "a tranquilizer to the American people." On balance, the Joint Chiefs judged the agreement to be "adequately verifiable" and recommended its ratification. However, Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979 doomed already slim prospects for Senate approval, and President Carter withdrew the agreement.

When the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan raised fears that Soviet forces there might move into neighboring Iran, where an anti-Western militant Islamic regime had taken power in early 1979, President Carter created a rapid deployment force (RDF) for Southwest Asia to counter any such attempt in the region. Subsequently, at the Secretary of Defense's direction, General Jones oversaw planning for the transformation of the RDF into a regional unified command. Planning for what in 1983 became the US Central Command was essentially completed during his chairmanship.



General Jones with General John W. Vessey, Jr., 1982.

After Iran refused to release US Embassy personnel taken hostage during the November 1979 seizure of the embassy by followers of Iranian leader Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini, President Carter in early 1980 directed the JCS

to plan a rescue effort. General Jones oversaw the planning, which was accomplished in secrecy outside the existing command structure; the result was a proposal for a multi-service mission involving Air Force transports, Army

commandos, and Navy helicopters piloted by Marines. The President approved the mission after General Jones informed him that the JCS believed that the plan was militarily feasible and had a good chance of succeeding. When mechanical problems and weather conditions caused failures or crashes of several aircraft, the mission was aborted. Congressional and Defense Department investigations found that lack of joint training and joint command and control at the tactical level had contributed to the failure. In response, the Joint Chiefs in August 1980 established a counter-terrorist joint task force as a field operating agency to conduct extensive training in joint planning and command and control.

General Jones bore the brunt of criticism for the failure of the hostage rescue mission. When President Carter nominated him for a second term, congressional opponents attacked Jones both for the failure of the raid and for his support of the administration's defense and foreign policies. However, on 19 June 1980 the Senate voted overwhelmingly to confirm him. After Ronald Reagan's victory in the November 1980 presidential election, critics of Jones launched a campaign

to persuade Reagan to dismiss the Chairman. But President Reagan decided to retain Jones.

General Jones had become increasingly dissatisfied with the operation of the joint system. During his last year as Chairman, he conducted an extensive review of the system's structural problems. This resulted in a proposal for changes to the National Security Act to improve the quality and timeliness of military advice and the combined readiness and effectiveness of the nation's combat forces. His central recommendation was that the Chairman, rather than the corporate JCS, should be the principal military adviser to the President and Secretary of Defense. His proposal for JCS reform prompted the most active debate on defense organizational issues since the 1950s. After his retirement on 18 June 1982, General Jones continued to be an active participant in this debate. He saw his ideas come to fruition with the 1986 passage of the Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act. In retirement, General Jones served as chairman of the board of the National Education Corporation and on several corporate and public service boards.

David Charles Jones

General, USAF

Promotions

	Dates	
	Temporary	Permanent
2LT		06 Feb 43
1LT	28 Feb 44	06 Feb 46
CPT.	11 Apr 46	25 Oct 48
MAJ	05 Feb 51	23 Jan 52
LTC.	01 Jun 53	01 Jul 59
COL	23 Apr 57	22 Dec 60
BG	01 Dec 65	10 Feb 66
MG	01 Nov 67.	24 Jan 69
LTG.	01 Aug 69	
GEN	01 Sep 71	

Assignments

	Dates	
	From	To
Aviation Cadet, Roswell, NM; Advanced Flying Instructor, Roswell, NM; Yuma, AZ; Pecos, TX; and Hobbs, NM	1942	1945
Pilot; Operations and Training Officer; Commander, 3d Emergency Rescue Squadron, Fifth Air Force, Japan	1945	1948
Unit Instructor, 2235th Air Force Rescue Training Center, Godman Field, KY	1948	1949
Student, Air Tactical School, Tyndall Air Force Base, FL	1949	1949
Student, Atomic Energy Course, Keesler Air Force Base, MS	1949	1949
Assistant Operations and Training Officer, Godman Field, KY	1949	1949
Student, Special Weapons Course, Sandia Base, NM	1949	1950
Pilot and Operations Officer; Commander, 19th Bombardment Squadron, March Air Force Base, CA, and Okinawa	1950	1953
Commander, 22d Air Refueling Squadron, March Air Force Base, CA.	1953	1954
Commander, 33d Bombardment Squadron, March Air Force Base, CA.	1954	1954

Assignments

Dates

From

To

Operations Planner, Bomber Mission Branch, Headquarters, Strategic Air Command, Offutt Air Force Base, NE	1954	1954
Aide to Commander in Chief, Strategic Air Command, Offutt Air Force Base, NE	1955	1957
Director of Materiel; Deputy Commander for Maintenance, 93d Bombardment Wing, Castle Air Force Base, CA	1957	1959
Student, National War College, Washington, DC. . .	1959	1960
Chief, Manned Systems Branch; Deputy Chief and then Chief, Strategic Division, Deputy Chief of Staff/Operations, Headquarters, US Air Force, Washington, DC	1960	1964
Student, USAF Operations Training Course, Luke and Davis-Monthan Air Force Bases, AZ. .	1964	1965
Commander, 33d Tactical Fighter Wing, Eglin Air Force Base, FL	1965	1965
Inspector General, Chief of Staff, and Deputy Chief of Staff/Plans and Operations, Headquarters, US Air Forces Europe, Wiesbaden Air Base, Germany	1965	1969
Deputy Chief of Staff/Operations and Vice Commander, Seventh Air Force, Tan Son Nhut Air Base, Vietnam	1969	1969
Commander, Second Air Force, Barksdale Air Force Base, LA	1969	1971
Vice Commander in Chief, US Air Forces, Europe, Wiesbaden Air Base, Germany	1971	1971
Commander in Chief, US Air Forces, Europe, Wiesbaden Air Base, Germany (Ramstein Air Base, Germany after March 1973) and Commander, Fourth Allied Tactical Air Forces, Ramstein Air Base, Germany	1971	1974
Chief of Staff, US Air Force, Washington, DC. . . .	1974	1978
Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, DC. .	1978	1982

Principal US Military Decorations and Qualifications

Defense Distinguished Service Medal (with 3 oak leaf clusters)
Air Force Distinguished Service Medal (with 2 oak leaf clusters)
Army Distinguished Service Medal
Navy Distinguished Service Medal
Legion of Merit
Distinguished Flying Cross
Bronze Star
Air Medal (with oak leaf cluster)
Air Force Commendation Medal

Command Pilot
Missileman



JOHN WILLIAM VESSEY, JR.

18 June 1982 — 30 September 1985

John Vessey, Jr., was born in Minneapolis, Minnesota, on 29 June 1922. In May 1939, thirteen months before he graduated from Roosevelt High School, he enlisted in the Minnesota National Guard as a motorcycle rider. His unit was activated in February 1941.

During World War II, Vessey served with the 34th Infantry Division. The experience of early American setbacks in North Africa left Vessey with a life-long appreciation of the need for realistic combat training, modern equipment, physical fitness, and air-ground cooperation. When Major General Omar Bradley, Commander of II Corps in North Africa, launched the US drive on Bizerte in April 1943, he gave the 34th the most difficult obstacle: the well-defended Hill 609. In the first clear-cut US Army victory of the campaign, the 34th Division took its objective, opening the way for the US advance on Bizerte. Vessey, who had been a first sergeant since 1 September 1942, later described being a first sergeant in combat as the “toughest job” he had. He was with the 34th when it entered the Anzio beachhead in Italy in May 1944; there he received a battlefield commission as a second lieutenant, serving as a forward observer.

After the war, most of Vessey’s service continued to be in field artillery assignments. In the 1950s he served with the 4th Infantry Division in Germany and the Eighth US Army in the Republic of Korea. During this period he also attended the Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

General John W. Vessey, Jr.
United States Army



Sergeant Vessey in World War II.

By the time Vessey became a lieutenant colonel, he had earned enough credits through night school and correspondence courses for a bachelor of science degree, which he received from the University of Maryland in 1963. In 1965 he received a master of science from George Washington University. From 1963 to 1965 Vessey commanded the 2d Battalion, 73d Field Artillery in the 3d Armored Division; then he spent a year as a student at the Industrial College of the Armed Forces.

During the Vietnam War, Vessey served for a year as Executive Officer of the 25th Infantry Division Artillery in Vietnam. In

March 1967, when acting as Commander of the 2d Battalion, 77th Artillery, he was given the mission of establishing a fire support base at Suoi Tre during Operation JUNCTION CITY. Located deep in enemy-controlled territory, Vessey and his men oriented the fire-base's defenses on the enemy's likely avenues of approach and rehearsed counterattack plans. During the attack by a reinforced regiment, the base was partially overrun. Vessey and his men fired their howitzers directly into the enemy ranks. Although greatly outnumbered, the defenders, aided by gunships and artillery, killed four hundred of their assailants while successfully defending the



General Vessey and Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger at a congressional hearing, February 1983.

firebase. Lieutenant Colonel Vessey received the Distinguished Service Cross for his actions during the battle.

From Vietnam, he went to Germany, to serve first as Commander of the 3d Armored Division Artillery from October 1967 until March 1969 and then as Division Chief of Staff for a year. He was promoted to colonel in November 1967. Vessey went back to South-

east Asia in December 1970 to head the US Army Support Command, Thailand. In January 1972 he went into Laos to coordinate all US military operations in support of the war in Laos. Vessey worked with the US ambassador, the CIA station chief, and an assortment of military contingents. When the Laotian cease-fire came in February 1973, the Royal Lao government controlled all major cities and the vast majority of the population.

Upon his return to the United States, Vessey became Director of Operations in the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans. Promoted to major general in August 1974, he assumed command of the 4th Infantry Division (Mechanized) at Fort Carson, Colorado. Promoted to lieutenant general in September 1975, he became the Army's Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans.

Vessey received his fourth star in November 1976. From 1976 to 1979 he served in the Republic of Korea as Commanding General of the Eighth US Army; Commander of US Forces, Korea; and Commander in Chief of the United Nations Command. In 1978 he became the first Commander in Chief of the Republic of Korea-United States Combined Forces Command. His tour was marked by increased tension caused by evidence of a North Korean buildup and by President Jimmy Carter's 1977 announcement that US ground forces would be withdrawn. Vessey worked to assuage South Korean concerns and change the President's decision. After Carter's 1979 visit, withdrawal plans were suspended and then cancelled.

From July 1979 until June 1982 General Vessey served as Vice Chief of Staff of the Army. On 18 June 1982 he became the tenth Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the last World War II combat veteran to serve in the position. General Vessey was the only Chairman who had been neither a Service Chief nor a commander of a unified or specified command. He served as Chairman during a period of unprecedented growth in peacetime defense spending and an expanded US military presence worldwide intended to counter growing Soviet military power.

Vessey and the Service Chiefs believed that their overriding task lay in convincing Soviet leaders that their quest for military superiority and geostrategic advantage was

fruitless. In Europe, they pushed the controversial but successful deployment of Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles to offset the Soviet SS-20 missiles. In Southwest Asia, highly visible US military activities underscored the US commitment to defend its vital interests in the region. In Central America, training and intelligence were provided to support counterinsurgency efforts.

Believing that it was a mistake to commit a superpower's forces to a peacekeeping mission, Vessey and the Joint Chiefs in 1982 and 1983 advised against deployment of a Marine contingent to Lebanon as part of a multinational peacekeeping force intended to restore peace among warring factions there. Their advice was not taken, and on 23 October 1983 a terrorist attack on the Marine headquarters building in Beirut killed 241 Marines. In late February 1984 President Ronald Reagan withdrew the contingent from Lebanon.

Vessey stressed the need for improvement of war plans and, for the first time, JCS members along with commanders of unified and specified commands personally participated in war games. Realizing the need to strengthen the joint system, Vessey and the Service Chiefs improved Joint Staff operations by adding a capability for budgetary analysis and by improving the quality of its personnel, changes that did not require legislation.

Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger understood the importance of decentralization; he authorized Vessey to direct military operations on the Secretary's behalf. The 1983 Grenada operation, for example, was planned by Atlantic Command, reviewed by the JCS, and approved by Secretary Weinberger and the President—all in four days. Vessey oversaw execution of the operation that rescued US citizens and brought a pro-US government into power.

During Vessey's tenure there was increased emphasis on space as a theater of



General Vessey briefs President Ronald Reagan at the White House, 1985. *Left to right:* Donald Regan, White House Chief of Staff; Caspar W. Weinberger, Secretary of Defense; President Reagan; Vice President George Bush; Robert McFarlane, Assistant for National Security Affairs; and General Vessey.

operations. In early 1983 the Joint Chiefs mentioned to the President that defense against nuclear-armed missiles might be technically feasible in the next century. To their surprise, Reagan seized upon the concept and on 23 March 1983 announced his vision of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). Realizing the enormous military advantages to be gained from operations in space and to support SDI, the JCS recommended the establishment of a unified command for space. US Space Command was activated on 23 September 1985.

General Vessey retired on 30 September 1985, several months before the expiration of his second term as Chairman. He was the last

four-star World War II combat veteran on active duty and, with forty-six years of service, had served the longest of anyone then in the Army. Shortly after General Vessey's retirement, Secretary Weinberger appointed him to the Integrated Long Term Strategy Commission. Vessey also served President Reagan and his successors, Presidents George H. W. Bush and William J. Clinton, as a special emissary to Vietnam on the question of American service personnel missing from the Vietnam War. He was a long-term member of the Defense Policy Board and the Defense Science Board, chairing several of the latter's task forces and studies.

John William Vessey, Jr.

General, USA

Promotions	Dates	
	Temporary	Permanent
2LT	06 May 44	
1LT	01 Apr 46	13 Jun 51
CPT	04 Jan 51	29 Oct 54
MAJ	14 May 58	26 Jan 62
LTC	07 Jan 63	02 Jan 69
COL	28 Nov 67	12 Mar 73
BG	01 Apr 71	23 Dec 74
MG	01 Aug 74	23 Aug 76
LTG	01 Sep 75	
GEN	01 Nov 76	

Assignments	Dates	
	From	To
National Guard enlisted service	1939	1941
34th Division Artillery, Camp Claiborne, LA, Northern Ireland, North Africa, and Italy as S/Sgt, 1st Sgt, and then battlefield commission to 2Lt (Communications Officer/Forward Observer/Air Observer).	1941	1945
US Army Field Artillery School, Fort Sill, OK	1945	1949
Student, Field Artillery Officers Advanced Course, Field Artillery School, Fort Sill, OK	1949	1950
Battery Officer; then Battery Commander, 18th Field Artillery, Fort Sill, OK	1950	1951
Assistant S-3 and Liaison Officer; then Headquarters Battery Commander; then Assistant S-3 and Liaison Officer, 4th Infantry Division Artillery, US Army, Europe.	1951	1954
Student, Artillery Officer Advanced Course, Artillery and Guided Missile School, Fort Sill, OK.	1954	1955
Battery Commander, Artillery and Guided Missile School Officer Candidate School	1955	1956
Gunnery Instructor, Artillery and Guided Missile School, Fort Sill, OK	1956	1957
Student, US Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS	1957	1958
Artillery Section, Eighth US Army with duty station CINCPAC Coordination Center, Philippines . . .	1958	1958

Assignments

Dates

	From	To
Chief, Operations Branch, Artillery Section, Eighth US Army, Korea	1958	1959
Assignment Officer, then Executive Officer, Artillery Officers Division, Office of Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, Washington, DC. . .	1959	1963
Student, Armed Forces Staff College, Norfolk, VA. .	1963	1963
Commander, 2d Battalion, 73d Artillery, 3d Armored Division, US Army, Europe	1963	1965
Student, Industrial College of the Armed Forces, Washington, DC	1965	1966
Executive Officer, 25th Infantry Division Artillery, Vietnam	1966	1967
Commander, 3d Armored Division Artillery, US Army, Europe.	1967	1969
Chief of Staff, 3d Armored Division, US Army, Europe.	1969	1970
Student, US Army Primary Helicopter School, Fort Wolters, TX; later US Army Aviation School, Fort Rucker, AL	1970	1970
Commanding General, US Army Support Command, Thailand	1970	1971
Deputy Chief, JUSMAGTHAI (Chief MAAG, Laos). .	1972	1973
Director of Operations, Office Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans, Washington, DC. . . .	1973	1974
Commanding General, 4th Infantry Division (Mechanized), Fort Carson, CO.	1974	1975
Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans, US Army, Washington, DC	1975	1976
Commanding General, Eighth US Army; and Commander in Chief, US Forces, Korea; and Commander in Chief, United Nations Command; and (1978) Commander in Chief, Republic of Korea-United States Combined Forces Command, Korea.	1976	1979
Vice Chief of Staff, US Army, Washington, DC . . .	1979	1982
Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, DC. .	1982	1985

Principal US Military Decorations and Qualifications

Distinguished Service Cross

Defense Distinguished Service Medal (with oak leaf cluster)

Army Distinguished Service Medal (with 2 oak leaf clusters)

Navy Distinguished Service Medal

Air Force Distinguished Service Medal

Legion of Merit (with oak leaf cluster)

Bronze Star (with oak leaf cluster)

Air Medal (with 4 oak leaf clusters)

Joint Service Commendation Medal

Army Commendation Medal (with "V" device)

Purple Heart

Army Aviator



WILLIAM JAMES CROWE, JR.

1 October 1985 — 30 September 1989

William Crowe was born on 2 January 1925 in La Grange, Kentucky, and grew up in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. After graduating from Classen High School, he attended the University of Oklahoma. Inspired in part by his father's experiences in the Navy during World War I, Crowe entered the US Naval Academy, graduating in 1946 with the class of 1947.

His initial sea tour was aboard the USS *Carmick* (DMS-33). After completing submarine school in 1948, he qualified in submarines in March 1950 in the diesel submarine USS *Flying Fish* (SS-29). Almost all of his sea assignments over the next decade were on diesel submarines. In 1951 and 1952 Crowe served as Flag Lieutenant and Aide to the Commander of the US Atlantic Fleet's Submarine Force at New London, Connecticut.

After promotion to lieutenant in 1952 and another submarine tour, he served from 1954 to 1955 as Assistant to the Naval Aide to President Dwight D. Eisenhower. During this tour he attended George Washington University Law School at night. Crowe's assignment in Washington kindled an interest in the study of government, and he began to rethink his Navy career path. Enrolling in the only full-time graduate program then available in the Navy, he received a master's in personnel administration from Stanford University in 1956.

From Stanford, Crowe returned to sea as Executive Officer of the USS *Wahoo* (SS-565) in Honolulu, Hawaii. Promoted to lieutenant commander in January 1958, he became personal aide to the Deputy Chief of Naval Operations for Plans, Policy and Operations the following autumn. This appointment

Admiral William J. Crowe, Jr.
United States Navy



Midshipman Crowe, 1946.

introduced him to the Navy's role in international politics and set his career direction.

In 1960 Crowe received his first command: the Navy's newest diesel submarine, the USS *Trout* (SS-566), based in Charleston, South Carolina. Promoted to commander in 1962, he was selected that year as one of the Navy's first candidates for a doctorate in the social sciences. Even the possibility of joining the prestigious nuclear submarine program did not dissuade him from his decision to pursue graduate studies. Crowe received a master's and a doctorate in politics from Princeton University.

After he received his Ph.D. in 1965, he returned to submarine duty as Chief of Staff to the Commander of Submarine Squadron THREE in San Diego, California. At the end of 1966 he was promoted to Commander of Division 31, which concentrated on anti-submarine operations. In 1967 he left San Diego to return to the Plans and Policy Deputy's Office, where he headed the East Asia and Pacific Branch of the Politico-Military Policy Division and was promoted to captain in July 1967. After the North Korean capture of the USS *Pueblo* in January 1968, he acted as the Navy's liaison with the State Department. His

office drafted the repatriation plan for the captured crew, and, at the direction of Chief of Naval Operations (CNO) Admiral Thomas Moorer, Crowe conducted the investigation of the crew's treatment during captivity.

In 1970, at the age of forty-four, Crowe volunteered for service in Vietnam. He served first as an adviser and then as Senior Adviser to the Vietnamese Riverine Force in the Mekong Delta. He returned to Washington in 1971 as Director of the Office of Micronesian Status Negotiations and Deputy to the President's Personal Representative for Micronesian Status Negotiations in the Interior Department, an appointment which recognized his policy experience but seemed likely to sidetrack his career. However, the head of the 1973 rear admiral selection board argued that Crowe's experience as an advocate should outweigh his relative lack of sea duty. This coincided with a push by CNO Admiral Elmo Zumwalt for the promotion of officers with wider ranges of experience, and Crowe was promoted in July 1973.

Rear Admiral Crowe returned to the Pentagon, where he served as Deputy Director of the Strategic Plans, Policy and Nuclear Systems Division in the CNO's Office and then as Director, East Asia and Pacific Region, in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs. In June 1976 he assumed command of the Middle East Force, based in Bahrain in the Persian Gulf.

Promoted to Vice Admiral in August 1977, he was appointed the Navy's Plans, Policy and Operations Deputy. After receiving his fourth star, Admiral Crowe became Commander in Chief of Allied Forces Southern Europe in May 1980 and assumed the additional responsibility of Commander in Chief of US Naval Forces, Europe in January 1983.

In July 1983 he became Commander in Chief of the Pacific Command (CINCPAC). When President Ronald Reagan stopped in

Hawaii en route to China in the spring of 1984, he was so impressed with Crowe's briefing on the military situation in the Far East that he reportedly told Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger that if another Chairman was needed, he had found him. When General Vessey decided to retire, Reagan named Crowe to replace him.

Admiral Crowe became the eleventh Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on 1 October 1985. He was the first since Admiral Radford to come directly from the helm of a unified command. On 1 October 1986 he became the first Chairman to serve under the Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act, which transferred considerable authority from the corporate JCS to the Chairman. After the law came into force, Crowe made the transition from being first among equals on the corporate body to being the principal military adviser to the President, the Secretary of Defense, and the National Security Council.

Admiral Crowe came to the chairmanship at a time of increasing international terrorism. When Palestinian terrorists hijacked the Italian cruise ship *Achille Lauro* a week after he was sworn in, US efforts to obtain custody of the hijackers were frustrated. Then, in December Americans were among those killed during terrorist assaults on the Rome and Vienna airports. In addition, Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi, a principal sponsor of terrorism, had proclaimed a "Line of Death" one hundred miles off Libya's shore—well beyond its internationally recognized territorial waters.

On Crowe's recommendation, the United States responded by adopting new rules of engagement; US units were allowed to respond to apparent threats rather than waiting until they were fired upon. This change led to the sinking of two Libyan patrol boats during a March 1986 Sixth Fleet exercise in the



Admiral Crowe, Commander in Chief, Allied Forces Southern Europe, at a briefing during a NATO exercise, 1981.

Gulf of Sidra. A week later, when terrorists bombed a West Berlin discotheque frequented by American soldiers, the United States attributed the attack to Qaddafi, and the Reagan administration decided to retaliate.

In deliberations over the US response, Crowe argued that the focus should be on Qaddafi's military capability. Although the decision to launch a night air strike that included command and control and terrorist targets resulted in an operation that was neither as focused nor as massive as Crowe had recommended, the 26 April raid on Libya led to an immediate reduction in the Libyan military presence in the Gulf of Sidra and in Libya's terrorist activities.

In October 1986 at a meeting with Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev in Reykjavik, Iceland, President Reagan, without consulting the Joint Chiefs of Staff, proposed the elimination of all intercontinental ballistic missiles in ten years. Gorbachev accepted the proposal, but the summit adjourned without an agreement. On the President's return to Washington, the administration did not discuss the proposals with the Joint Chiefs. Nevertheless, Admiral Crowe thought that he had to bring the issue before the Chiefs. They agreed that the President's proposal was "completely unacceptable" from the point of view of US national security.



Admiral Crowe welcomes Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev, Chief of the Soviet General Staff, to "The Tank," the JCS Conference Room in the Pentagon, 8 July 1988.

With only lukewarm support from Secretary Weinberger, who believed that the zero-ballistic-missile (ZBM) proposal would not be pursued, Crowe initiated discussion of the subject in a meeting of the National Security Planning Group (NSPG). He informed the President that the Joint Chiefs believed that it would be ill-advised to proceed with the ZBM proposal. The concept was, in fact, not pursued, and Admiral Crowe believed that his speaking out at the meeting bolstered his relationship with the other members of the NSPG.

During Crowe's tenure as Chairman there was heightened tension in the Persian Gulf region as a result of the Iran-Iraq War. In

1987 he was actively involved in the planning for Operation EARNEST WILL, the US reflagging and convoying of Kuwaiti tankers in the Persian Gulf to protect them from Iranian attack. Using the increased authority that Goldwater-Nichols gave the Chairman and the CINCs to design command and control arrangements, Crowe guided the creation of a joint task force to conduct the operation. In July 1988, when the USS *Vincennes* mistakenly shot down an Iranian civilian airliner, Crowe, supported by Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci, urged immediate public disclosure of the shootdown. When the Secretary of State and the President



Admiral Crowe conducts a press briefing, June 1989.

agreed, Crowe was given the responsibility of making the announcement.

With the lessening of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union in 1987, Admiral Crowe initiated a historic dialogue with his Soviet counterpart. When Chief of the Soviet General Staff Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev was in Washington in December 1987 for the signing of the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, Crowe invited him to the Pentagon, where Akhromeyev met with the Chairman and the other JCS members in "The Tank." A private Crowe-Akhromeyev meeting led to an agreement designed to prevent accidental armed conflict between US and Soviet armed forces and to a formal program of military-to-military dialogue between the services of the

two countries. In the summer of 1988 Akhromeyev and the Soviet Service Vice Chiefs visited the United States at Crowe's invitation. When Crowe and the US Service Vice Chiefs returned the visit in June 1989, he and Akhromeyev's successor, General Mikhail Moiseyev, signed the Agreement on the Prevention of Dangerous Military Activities and a military-to-military contacts agreement. Crowe's initiatives did much to hasten the thaw in the Cold War.

After his retirement on 30 September 1989, Admiral Crowe became a counselor at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, DC, and University Professor of Geopolitics at the University of Oklahoma. He wrote his memoir, *The Line of Fire*; served on a number of corporate boards;

and was a director of the Council on Foreign Relations. From 1990 until 1993 Crowe co-chaired the Carnegie Commission on Reducing the Nuclear Danger; he co-authored its 1993 report, *Reducing Nuclear Danger: The Road Away from the Brink*. In 1993 President William J. Clinton appointed him Chairman of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. From 1994 until 1997 Crowe served as US Ambassador to the Court of St. James. Upon his return to Washington, DC, he became chairman of the advisory board of Capitoline/MS&L, a government relations firm, and then

senior adviser to GlobalOptions, LLC, an international crisis management firm. He served on the Overseas Presence Advisory Panel and in 1998-1999 chaired the State Department Accountability Review Boards, appointed after the August 1998 bombings of the US embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, to examine the embassies' security procedures. He taught political science at the Naval Academy, served as a trustee of Princeton University, and was Shapiro Visiting Professor of International Affairs at George Washington University.

William James Crowe, Jr.

Admiral, USN

Promotions

	Dates	
	Temporary	Permanent
ENS.	05 Jun 46	
LTJG		05 Jun 49
LT.		01 Jun 52
LCDR		01 Jan 58
CDR		01 Jul 62
CAPT.		01 Jul 67
RADM	25 Jul 73.	01 Jun 74
VADM	23 Aug 77	
ADM	30 May 80	

Assignments

	Dates	
	From	To
USS <i>Carmick</i>	1946	1946
Naval Mine Warfare School, Yorktown, VA	1946	1946
USS <i>Carmick</i>	1947	1948
Naval Submarine School, Submarine Base, New London, CT	1948	1948
USS <i>Flying Fish</i>	1948	1951
Staff, Commander Submarine Force, US Atlantic Fleet	1951	1952
USS <i>Clamagore</i>	1952	1954
Naval Administrative Unit, Potomac River Naval Command	1954	1955
Student, Stanford University	1955	1956
Executive Officer, USS <i>Wahoo</i>	1956	1958
Head, New Development/Special Weapons Branch, Personnel Research Division, Bureau of Naval Personnel, Washington, DC	1958	1959
Aide to Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Plans and Policy), Washington, DC	1959	1960
Commanding Officer, USS <i>Trout</i>	1960	1962
Student, Princeton University	1962	1965
Staff, Commander Submarine Squadron THREE.	1965	1966
Commander, Submarine Division 31.	1966	1967
Head, East Asia and Pacific Branch, Politico-Military Policy Division, Office of Chief of Naval Operations, Washington, DC	1967	1970

Assignments

	Dates	
	From	To
Senior Adviser, Amphibious Task Force 211 and Commander, Task Force 210; Senior Adviser, Deputy Commander, Tran Hung Dao, Binh Thuy, from 6 Apr 1971 to 20 Aug 1971, US Naval Forces, Vietnam and Naval Advisory Group, Military Assistance Command, Vietnam .	1970	1971
Director, Office of Micronesian Status Negotiations and Deputy to President's Personal Representative for Micronesian Status Negotiations, Department of Interior, Washington, DC	1971	1973
Deputy Director, Strategic Plans, Policy and Nuclear Systems Division, Office of Chief of Naval Operations, Washington, DC	1973	1974
Director, East Asia and Pacific Region, Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (ISA), Washington, DC	1974	1976
Commander, Middle East Force	1976	1977
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations, Plans, Policy and Operations and Senior Navy Member, US Delegation, United Nations Military Staff Committee, Washington, DC	1977	1980
Commander in Chief, Allied Forces Southern Europe	1980	1983
Commander in Chief, Pacific Command (redesignated US Pacific Command on 11 October 1983)	1983	1985
Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, DC. . .	1985	1989

Principal US Military Decorations and Qualifications

Defense Distinguished Service Medal (with 3 oak leaf clusters)
 Navy Distinguished Service Medal (with 2 gold stars)
 Army Distinguished Service Medal
 Air Force Distinguished Service Medal
 Coast Guard Distinguished Service Medal
 Legion of Merit (with 2 oak leaf clusters)
 Bronze Star (with combat "V")
 Air Medal

Submarine Officer

Submarine Commanding Officer



COLIN LUTHER POWELL

1 October 1989 — 30 September 1993

Colin Luther Powell, the son of Jamaican immigrants, was born on 5 April 1937 in the Harlem section of New York City. He grew up in the South Bronx, where he graduated from Morris High School. At sixteen he entered the City College of New York. Attracted by the panache of the Pershing Rifles drill team, he joined the Army Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC). There he found a sense of direction. He became company commander of the Pershing Rifles, attained ROTC's highest rank of cadet colonel, and was named a "distinguished military graduate." When he graduated in 1958 with a bachelor of science in geology, Powell was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Regular Army.

During the next decade Powell mastered infantry tactics and unit leadership. After completing Infantry Officer Basic, Ranger, and Airborne schools, he joined the 3d Armored Division in West Germany as a platoon leader. He then transferred to Fort Devens, Massachusetts, to command a company of the 5th Infantry Division and in 1962 was promoted to captain.

From December 1962 to November 1963 Powell was assigned to Vietnam, where he served as an adviser to a South Vietnamese infantry battalion. Wounded during this tour, he received a Purple Heart. On his return, he completed the Infantry Officer Advanced Course at Fort Benning, Georgia; was promoted to major in 1966; and the following year became an instructor at the Infantry School. In 1968 he graduated from the Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, second in a class of 1,244.

General Colin L. Powell
United States Army



ROTC Cadet Sergeant First Class Powell, 1957.

In June 1968 Major Powell returned to Vietnam, serving first as a battalion executive officer and then as Assistant Chief of Staff, Operations (G-3), and later deputy G-3 with the 23d Infantry Division (Americal). During this tour he received the Soldier's Medal for repeatedly returning to a burning helicopter to rescue others despite being injured himself.

Powell spent 1969 to 1973 in Washington, DC. Promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1970, he received a master's in business administration from George Washington University in 1971. In 1971 and 1972 he worked as an operations research analyst in the Planning,

Programming and Analysis Directorate in the Office of the Assistant Vice Chief of Staff of the Army. Selected in 1972 as one of seventeen White House Fellows from among 1,500 applicants, he was assigned to the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) as Special Assistant to the Deputy Director.

Lieutenant Colonel Powell returned to a troop assignment in September 1973 as Commander of the 1st Battalion of the 32d Infantry, 2d Infantry Division, guarding the Demilitarized Zone in the Republic of Korea. His next assignment, from 1974 to 1975, was as an operations research systems analyst in



Lieutenant Colonel Powell as a battalion commander in South Korea.

the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Reserve Affairs. During 1975 and 1976 he was a student at the National War College, Fort Lesley J. McNair, Washington, DC. Promoted to colonel in 1976, Powell assumed command of the 2d Brigade, 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault), Fort Campbell, Kentucky, in April of that year.

Colonel Powell returned to the Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD) in July 1977 as Executive to the Special Assistant to the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense. After promotion to brigadier general in 1979 he continued in OSD as Senior Military Assistant

to the Deputy Secretary until June 1981, when he became Assistant Division Commander for Operations of the 4th Infantry Division (Mechanized), Fort Carson, Colorado. In August 1982 General Powell became the Deputy Commanding General of the US Army Combined Arms Combat Development Activity, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

In July 1983 he returned to the Pentagon as Senior Military Assistant to Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger. Promoted to major general the following month, Powell continued as Weinberger's assistant until June 1986, when he assumed command of V



Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney swears in General Powell as the twelfth Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 3 October 1989.

Corps in Europe. He was promoted to lieutenant general in July.

Six months later, President Ronald Reagan summoned him to become the Deputy National Security Adviser under Frank Carlucci, for whom Powell had worked at OMB and in OSD. When Carlucci became Secretary of Defense, General Powell replaced him as National Security Adviser. He served in this position from December 1987 until the end of the Reagan presidency in January 1989. During this time he organized and coordinated

several summit meetings between President Reagan and other world leaders.

In April 1989 Powell received his fourth star and became Commander in Chief of Forces Command (CINCFOR), Fort McPherson, Georgia, responsible for the general reserve of US-based Army forces. Within months of his appointment as CINCFOR, President George H. W. Bush selected General Powell to be the twelfth Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. When Powell became Chairman on 1 October 1989, he was the first



General Powell briefs the press during Operation DESERT STORM, 1991.

African-American, the first ROTC graduate, and, at fifty-two, the youngest officer to serve in the position.

General Powell's tenure as Chairman coincided with the end of the Cold War; his chairmanship saw more change in the world than that of any of his predecessors. Powell was the principal architect of the reorientation of US strategy and the reduction of the armed forces in response to the changed strategic environment. He directed the most significant change in national military strategy since the

late 1940s, devising a strategy which focused on regional and humanitarian crises rather than on the Soviet Union. Powell's concept of a "base force" sufficient to maintain the United States' superpower status won Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney's and President Bush's support for a twenty-five percent reduction in the size of the armed forces.

The first Chairman to serve his whole tenure under the Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense reforms, Powell devoted considerable energy to promoting joint

culture in order to enhance the services' ability to fight together as a team. He guided the development of doctrine for joint warfare and was the driving force behind the expansion of the Atlantic Command's responsibilities, which transformed it from a principally naval headquarters into one with responsibility for ground and air forces based in the continental United States as well as East Coast naval forces. When the new US Atlantic Command (USACOM) came into existence on 1 October 1993, the day after Powell's retirement, it was a joint command designed to meet the military requirements of the post-Cold War world.

During Powell's chairmanship, the US Armed Forces made over two dozen operational deployments. An attempted coup against the Panamanian dictator Manuel Noriega on 3 October 1989 almost postponed Powell's welcoming ceremony at the Pentagon. Over the next two months, the Chairman worked with the Commander in Chief of US Southern Command to develop a contingency plan that would provide a large force should President Bush decide to intervene in Panama. After Panama declared a state of war with the United States and Panamanian soldiers killed an American officer and manhandled another officer and his wife, President Bush ordered the deployment of approximately 14,000 troops to Panama in late December. They joined almost 13,000 troops already there to execute Operation JUST CAUSE, which resulted in the defeat of the Panamanian forces and the downfall of Noriega.

General Powell played a central role in the preparation for and conduct of the Persian Gulf War. In response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990, President Bush ordered the deployment of some 250,000 US troops to Saudi Arabia in Operation DESERT SHIELD. Powell advised keeping all options open, exerting diplomatic and eco-

nomic pressure while building up sufficient forces in the region to assure quick victory if the United States and its coalition partners concluded that military action was necessary. When Iraqi President Saddam Hussein did not withdraw his forces from Kuwait, Powell endorsed the President's decision to launch an offensive—Operation DESERT STORM—in January 1991. After it became clear in late February that the coalition forces had achieved an overwhelming victory, he supported the President's decision to suspend hostilities. The Persian Gulf victory boosted the military's standing with the American public, and General Powell became a well-known and popular figure. For his leadership during the war, he received a Congressional Gold Medal, struck in his honor, and the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

In addition to the combat operations in Panama and the Persian Gulf, US forces participated in a number of rescue and relief operations during Powell's chairmanship, including humanitarian relief operations to provide assistance to famine victims in Somalia and to victims of ethnic warfare in Bosnia in 1992 and 1993. While supporting limited use of US forces to contain the crisis in the Balkans and to assist the United Nations forces on the ground there, General Powell was reluctant to commit US forces to intervene directly in the war and thus become one of the belligerents. He forcefully argued against the commitment of US ground troops in either a peacemaking or combat role. In internal debates in the Bush and Clinton administrations and in published articles, he advocated the use of US forces in combat only when there were clear political objectives and the political willingness to commit sufficient resources to achieve these objectives. Although there was a perception of an uneasy relationship between the military and the new Clinton administration, especially over

the issue of homosexuals in the military, General Powell enjoyed a close working relationship with President William J. Clinton.

When General Powell retired on 30 September 1993, the role of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff had been substantially enhanced due to his aggressive exercise of the expanded powers granted the Chairman in the Goldwater-Nichols Act. His tenure as Chairman subsequently became the subject of debate among some scholars and commentators concerned with the role of the military in policy development.

At his retirement General Powell was awarded a second Presidential Medal of Freedom, this one with distinction. Later that year Queen Elizabeth II made him an honorary Knight Commander of the Bath. In retirement, Powell wrote a best-selling autobiography and became a frequent public speaker. As a member of the three-man delegation, headed by former President Jimmy Carter, that President Clinton sent to Haiti in September 1994, he played a key role in negotiating the peaceful transfer of power from the

military dictatorship to the elected president. Powell co-chaired the Presidents' Summit for America's Future in 1997 and subsequently launched and became chairman of America's Promise—The Alliance for Youth, a national organization to mobilize volunteer efforts to assist young people in developing the character and skills needed to become successful adults. A trustee of Howard University and a director of the United Negro College Fund, he also served on the board of governors of The Boys & Girls Clubs of America, on the advisory board of the Children's Health Fund, and on corporate boards. In 1998 he received the US Military Academy's Sylvanus Thayer Award for embodying the values expressed in the Academy's motto, "Duty, Honor, Country," and in 1999 the Air Force Academy awarded him the Thomas D. White Defense Award for his contributions to national defense. Powell was a member of the US delegation of observers for the 1999 presidential election in Nigeria, one of the steps in that nation's transition to democratic rule.

Colin Luther Powell

General, USA

Promotions

	Dates	
	Temporary	Permanent
2LT	09 Jun 58	30 Jun 58
1LT	30 Dec 59	30 Jun 61
CPT.	02 Jun 62	30 Jun 65
MAJ.	24 May 66.	30 Jun 72
LTC	09 Jul 70.	30 Jun 79
COL	01 Feb 76	
BG	01 Jun 79	22 Jan 82
MG		01 Aug 83
LTG.	01 Jul 86	
GEN	04 Apr 89	

Assignments

	Dates	
	From	To
Student, Infantry Officer Basic Course, Ranger and Airborne Courses, US Army Infantry School, Fort Benning, GA	1958	1958
Platoon Leader, Company B, 2d Armored Rifle Battalion, 48th Infantry, US Army, Europe	1958	1959
Assistant Adjutant, Combat Command B, 3d Armored Division, US Army, Europe	1959	1959
Platoon Leader, later Executive Officer, Company D, 2d Armored Rifle Battalion, 48th Infantry, US Army, Europe	1959	1960
Liaison Officer, later Executive Officer, Company A, 1st Battle Group, 4th Infantry, 2d Infantry Brigade, 5th Infantry Division (Mechanized), Fort Devens, MA	1960	1961
Commander, Company A, 1st Battle Group, 4th Infantry, 2d Brigade, 5th Infantry Division (Mechanized), Fort Devens, MA.	1961	1962
S-1, 1st Battalion, 2d Infantry, 5th Infantry Division (Mechanized), Fort Devens, MA	1962	1962
Student, US Army Special Warfare Center, Fort Bragg, NC	1962	1962
Self Defense Corps Training Center Adviser, 2d Infantry Division, I Corps, Military Assistance Advisory Group, Vietnam	1962	1963

Assignments

Dates

From

To

Senior Battalion Adviser, Unit Advisory Branch, later Assistant G-3 (Operations) Adviser, 1st Infantry Division, Army of the Republic of Vietnam, Military Assistance Advisory Group, Vietnam	1963	1963
Test Officer, US Army Infantry Board, Fort Benning, GA.	1963	1964
Student, Infantry Officer Advanced Course, US Army Infantry School, Fort Benning, GA . . .	1964	1965
Test Officer, Supporting Weapons Test Division, US Army Infantry Board, Fort Benning, GA . . .	1965	1966
Instructor/Author, Operations Committee, US Army Infantry School, Fort Benning, GA . . .	1966	1967
Student, US Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS	1967	1968
Executive Officer, 3d Battalion, 1st Infantry, 11th Infantry Brigade, Americal Division, US Army, Vietnam	1968	1968
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3 (Operations) later Deputy G-3 (Operations), Americal Division, US Army, Vietnam	1968	1969
Student, George Washington University, Washington, DC	1969	1971
Operations Research Analyst, Office of the Assistant Vice Chief of Staff, United States Army, Washington, DC	1971	1972
White House Fellow, Office of Management and Budget, The White House, Washington, DC . . .	1972	1973
Commander, 1st Battalion, 32d Infantry, 2d Infantry Division, Eighth United States Army, Korea.	1973	1974
Operations Research Systems Analyst, Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower Requirements and Analysis), Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower and Reserve Affairs), Washington, DC	1974	1975
Student, National War College, Fort McNair, Washington, DC	1975	1976
Commander, 2d Brigade, 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault), Fort Campbell, KY . . .	1976	1977
Executive to the Special Assistant to the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense, Washington, DC	1977	1978

Assignments	Dates	
	From	To
Senior Military Assistant to the Deputy Secretary of Defense, Washington, DC	1979	1981
Assistant Division Commander, 4th Infantry Division (Mechanized), Fort Carson, CO	1981	1982
Deputy Commanding General, US Army Combined Arms Combat Development Activity, Fort Leavenworth, KS	1982	1983
Military Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, Office of the Secretary of Defense, Washington, DC	1983	1986
Commanding General, V Corps, US Army, Europe	1986	1986
Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, The White House, Washington, DC	1987	1987
Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, The White House, Washington, DC	1987	1989
Commander in Chief, Forces Command, Fort McPherson, GA	1989	1989
Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, DC.	1989	1993

Principal US Military Decorations and Qualifications

Defense Distinguished Service Medal (with 3 oak leaf clusters)
 Army Distinguished Service Medal (with oak leaf cluster)
 Navy Distinguished Service Medal
 Air Force Distinguished Service Medal
 Coast Guard Distinguished Service Medal
 Defense Superior Service Medal
 Legion of Merit (with oak leaf cluster)
 Soldier's Medal
 Bronze Star
 Purple Heart
 Air Medal
 Joint Service Commendation Medal
 Army Commendation Medal (with 2 oak leaf clusters)

Ranger
 Parachutist
 Air Assault
 Pathfinder
 Combat Infantryman



JOHN MALCHASE DAVID SHALIKASHVILI

25 October 1993 — 30 September 1997

John Shalikashvili was born 27 June 1936 in Warsaw, Poland. During World War II he lived through the German occupation of Poland, the 1944 Warsaw uprising, and flight to Germany. In 1952 he emigrated with his family to the United States, settling in Peoria, Illinois.

Shalikashvili entered Peoria Central High School, graduating in 1954. He received a scholarship to Bradley University. There he enrolled in the Air Force Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC), but his eyesight was not good enough for him to become a pilot. Shalikashvili became a US citizen in May 1958, received a bachelor's degree in mechanical engineering from Bradley that June, and was drafted into the Army in July. Six months later, Private Shalikashvili was selected for Officer Candidate School (OCS) at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. Upon graduation in July 1959, he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the field artillery.

His first leadership assignment—in charge of a mortar platoon in Alaska—proved so challenging and enjoyable that he decided to make the Army his career. After promotion to first lieutenant in January 1961, Shalikashvili left Alaska for the Army Air Defense School at Fort Bliss, Texas, where he was an instructor in several courses and later a student in the advanced course. Promoted to captain in July 1963, he remained at Fort Bliss as a staff officer at the Army Air Defense Center. From February 1965 to January 1968 he served in information, operations, and command positions with US Army Europe in Germany not far from where he had spent much of his childhood. He was promoted to major in August 1967.

General John M. Shalikashvili
United States Army



Lieutenant Shalikashvili in Alaska.

As a senior district adviser in Vietnam in 1968 and 1969, Major Shalikashvili served in the I Corps Tactical Zone near the North Vietnamese border in an area heavily infiltrated by the Viet Cong. He received a Bronze Star with "V" Device for valor for directing successful resistance to an attack from two enemy positions while accompanying a small patrol on a

search operation. While a student in the staff course at the Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, he received a master's degree in international relations from George Washington University in 1970. Then followed the first of several tours at Fort Lewis, Washington: a year as Executive Officer, 2d Battalion, 18th Field Artillery, 212th Field Artillery Group.



Colonel Shalikashvili as Division Artillery Commander with the 1st Armored Division.

In June 1971 Major Shalikashvili was sent to Korea as an operations officer with the United Nations Command and US Forces, Korea. When he returned to the United States, he was assigned to the Army Military Personnel Center in Alexandria, Virginia. Promoted to lieutenant colonel in May 1974, he returned to Fort Lewis in July 1975 as Assistant Fire Support Coordinator, Division Artillery, 9th Infantry Division. In December he took command of the 1st Battalion, 84th Field Artillery. Following successful command, Shalikashvili was selected to attend the Army War College in Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania.

After graduating from the War College, Lieutenant Colonel Shalikashvili returned to Europe, where from June 1978 to June 1979 he was Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3 (Operations), US Army Southern European Task Force. Promoted to colonel in December 1978, he commanded the Division Artillery of the 1st Armored Division, US Army Europe, from June 1979 to August 1981. Next assigned stateside, Colonel Shalikashvili served his first tour in the Pentagon. From September 1981 to August 1984 he was assigned to the Army's Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans, where he dealt with



Lieutenant General Shalikashvili meets with Kurdish refugees during Operation PROVIDE COMFORT, 1991.

the politico-military aspects of military operations, first as Chief of the Politico-Military Division and then as Deputy Director of the Strategy, Plans, and Policy Directorate.

Over the next five years he held significant command and staff positions and rose to the rank of lieutenant general. In August 1984 Brigadier General Shalikashvili returned to the 1st Armored Division in Germany as an Assistant Division Commander. He came back to the Army Staff in July 1986 as Assistant Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans (Joint Affairs) and Director of Strategy, Plans, and Policy. In this capacity he helped develop the Army's position on the reduction of theater nuclear missiles in Europe in preparation for US negotiations with the Soviet

Union. In June 1987 Major General Shalikashvili assumed command of the 9th Infantry Division at Fort Lewis, where he impressed General Colin L. Powell, then Commander in Chief of Forces Command, with his ability to "get things done." Shalikashvili restored stability and direction to a division that had experienced considerable disruption as a result of years of experimentation with organization and equipment.

He became Deputy Commander-in-Chief of US Army Europe and the Seventh Army in September 1989 and was promoted to lieutenant general the next month. Shalikashvili directed the evacuation of all US chemical munitions from Germany and assisted with the movement of VII Corps to Saudi Arabia for



General Shalikashvili and Secretary of Defense William J. Perry meet with reporters upon arrival in Haiti to visit with Haitian leaders and US troops deployed there, October 1994.

participation in the Persian Gulf War. Selected in April 1991 to command Operation PROVIDE COMFORT, a US-led multinational relief operation of unprecedented scale, Shalikashvili demonstrated exceptional organizational and diplomatic skill. Charged with saving half a million Iraqi Kurds who had fled into the mountains of northern Iraq and eastern Turkey at the end of the Persian Gulf War and were dying at the rate of one thousand a day, he directed the relief effort, negotiated with the Turkish government, and dealt with the Iraqi military. By July most of the refugees had been resettled in Iraq. The success of this humanitarian operation convinced him that, used judiciously, the military had a role beyond its "primary mission" of "going to war," that it could bring to such crises an organization and structure unmatched by any civilian institution: "I saw firsthand what an enormous capacity the armed forces have for doing good."

In August 1991 Shalikashvili returned to the Pentagon to serve General Powell as Assistant to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In that position he traveled extensively with Secretary of State James A. Baker III as the Chairman's representative, dealing primarily with the consequences of the collapse of the Soviet Union. He received his fourth star in June 1992, when he became Commander in Chief of the US European Command (USCINCEUR) and Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (SACEUR). As SACEUR, he helped lay the groundwork for recasting the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to deal with the new Europe that had resulted from the demise of the Warsaw Pact.

Selected by President William J. Clinton, General Shalikashvili became the thirteenth Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on 25 October 1993. He was the first foreign-born Chairman, the first draftee to rise to the

position, and the first OCS graduate to be appointed. As Chairman, he continued to prefer to be known, as he had for most of his career, as "Shali."

Shalikashvili's tenure saw a dramatic increase in the number of overseas deployments of US forces, particularly in peacekeeping and humanitarian operations, including those in Bosnia, Haiti, and Rwanda. While he supported the military's participation in these types of operations, he maintained that the United States needed to be "very selective" in deploying its forces and should become engaged only when important national interests were involved, all other options had been exhausted, and the intervention of its military could be decisive. In the debate over the appropriate US response to the conflict that had raged in Bosnia since 1992, he opposed commitment of US ground forces as combatants but advocated US participation in a NATO peace implementation force once all warring factions had agreed to a peace framework.

The increased frequency of operations during his chairmanship strained troop morale and readiness. As a former enlisted soldier, Shalikashvili felt a special bond with enlisted personnel and took particular satisfaction from his success in winning support for increasing the defense budget's provisions for pay, housing, and benefits to improve the quality of life for enlistees and their families. While he believed that the nation's armed forces were prepared to meet any near-term contingency, he was concerned about future readiness if the accelerated pace of operations continued. Accordingly, he recommended closing bases to provide funding to maintain readiness.

To deal with the shifting geostrategic situation, Shalikashvili directed the development of an overarching strategic vision to take the US military into the twenty-first century as a force that could shape the international

environment in which it would have to operate instead of continually responding to crises ad hoc. Published in 1996, "Joint Vision 2010" provided a doctrinal framework for the development of service strategies that would employ advanced technology to dominate any battlefield.

The central strategic issue during his tenure was the question of the future of NATO, the linchpin of the US relationship with Europe. Shalikashvili was, in the apt description of the *New York Times*, the "intellectual godfather" of the Partnership for Peace, NATO's military cooperation program with the former members of the Warsaw Pact. This initiative became the foundation for the Clinton administration's support for the incremental enlargement of the alliance. Believing that a viable NATO was essential to US interests, Shalikashvili thought that its gradual expansion was a "cost-effective insurance policy" for maintaining European stability. In July 1997, two months before the end of his second term as Chairman, the alliance voted to extend membership to Hungary; the Czech Republic; and his birthplace, Poland.

At his retirement as Chairman on 30 September 1997 General Shalikashvili received the Presidential Medal of Freedom. In retirement, he was a visiting professor at the Center for International Security and Cooperation at Stanford University and worked as a consultant in the high-technology industry. He devoted considerable energy to promoting military-to-military relations between the United States and Russia and China. In early 2000 President Clinton appointed him to head an effort to win Senate support for ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Shalikashvili also served on the boards of a number of corporations and non-profit organizations as well as his alma mater, Bradley University.

John Malchase David Shalikashvili

General, USA

Promotions

Dates

Temporary

Permanent

2LT		07 Jul 59
1LT	07 Jul 61	07 Jul 62
CPT.	08 Jul 63	07 Jul 66
MAJ	23 Aug 67.	07 Jul 73
LTC.	12 May 74	07 Jul 80
COL	06 Dec 78	
BG		01 Aug 83
MG		01 Sep 86
LTG.	01 Oct 89	
GEN	24 Jun 92	

Assignments

Dates

From

To

Enlisted Service.	1958	1959
Forward Observer, later Platoon Commander, Mortar Battery (106 mm), 1st Battle Group, 9th Infantry, US Army, AK	1959	1960
Forward Observer, Headquarters Battery, later Assistant Executive Officer, Battery B, 2d Howitzer Battalion, 15th Artillery, US Army, AK	1960	1961
Instructor, Air Defense Artillery, later Guided Missile, and later Senior Instructor, Administration and Operations Branch, High Altitude Missile Department, Academic Organization, US Army Air Defense School, Fort Bliss, TX	1961	1963
Student, Artillery Officer Advanced Course, US Army Field Artillery School, Fort Sill, OK, and US Army Air Defense School, Fort Bliss, TX	1963	1963
Staff Officer, Plans and Operations Division, G-3 (Operations), US Army Air Defense Center, Fort Bliss, TX	1963	1964

Assignments	Dates	
	From	To
Assistant Information Officer, 32d Artillery Brigade, US Army Europe, Germany	1965	1965
Assistant Operations Officer, 32d Army Air Defense Command, US Army Europe, Germany.	1965	1966
Commander, Headquarters and Headquarters Battery, 32d Army Air Defense Command, US Army Europe, Germany.	1966	1967
Operations Officer, 32d Army Air Defense Command, US Army Europe, Germany.	1967	1968
Senior District Adviser, Advisory Team 19, US Military Assistance Command, Vietnam . . .	1968	1969
Student, Naval War College, Newport, RI	1969	1970
Executive Officer, 2d Battalion, 18th Field Artillery, 212th Field Artillery Group, Fort Lewis, WA. . . .	1970	1971
Operations Officer, Current Operations, Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, J-3, United Nations Command/US Forces Korea	1971	1972
Assignment Officer, later Personnel Management Officer, Field Artillery Branch, and later Chief, Assignment Branch, Lieutenant Colonels Division, Officer Personnel Management Directorate, US Army Military Personnel Center, Alexandria, VA	1972	1975
Assistant Fire Support Coordinator, Division Artillery, 9th Infantry Division, Fort Lewis, WA	1975	1975
Commander, 1st Battalion, 84th Field Artillery, 9th Infantry Division, Fort Lewis, WA.	1975	1977
Student, US Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, PA.	1977	1978
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3 (Operations), US Army Southern European Task Force	1978	1979
Commander, Division Artillery, 1st Armored Division, US Army Europe, Germany	1979	1981
Chief, Politico-Military Division, later Deputy Director, Strategy, Plans, and Policy Directorate, Office, Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans, US Army, Washington, DC.	1981	1984
Assistant Division Commander, 1st Armored Division, US Army Europe, Germany	1984	1986

Assignments

Dates

From

To

Assistant Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans, (Joint Affairs)/Director of Strategy, Plans and Policy, Office, Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans, US Army, Washington, DC	1986	1987
Commanding General, 9th Infantry Division, Fort Lewis, WA	1987	1989
Deputy Commander in Chief, US Army Europe and Seventh Army, Germany	1989	1991
Assistant to the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, DC	1991	1992
Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, Supreme Headquarters, Allied Powers Europe/ Commander in Chief, US European Command, Belgium	1992	1993
Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, DC. . .	1993	1997

Principal US Military Decorations and Qualifications

Defense Distinguished Service Medal (with 3 oak leaf clusters)

Army Distinguished Service Medal (with oak leaf cluster)

Navy Distinguished Service Medal

Air Force Distinguished Service Medal

Coast Guard Distinguished Service Medal

Legion of Merit (with 2 oak leaf clusters)

Bronze Star (with "V" device)

Meritorious Service Medal (with 3 oak leaf clusters)

Air Medal

Joint Service Commendation Medal

Army Commendation Medal

Parachutist

Combat Infantryman



HENRY HUGH SHELTON

1 October 1997 —

Hugh Shelton was born 2 January 1942 in Tarboro, North Carolina, and grew up on a farm near the small town of Speed. After graduating from North Edgecombe High School, he entered North Carolina State University. He enjoyed the Army Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) and enrolled for an additional two years beyond the two then mandatory for men attending land-grant colleges. When he received his bachelor of science in textile technology in June 1963, he was commissioned a second lieutenant of infantry in the Army Reserve.

Lieutenant Shelton spent two years on active duty at Fort Benning, Georgia, where he was a platoon leader first with the 2d Infantry Division and then with the 1st Cavalry Division. While at Fort Benning, he completed the Ranger course at the Army Infantry School, qualified as a parachutist, and was promoted to first lieutenant. Shelton remained in the Army Reserve when he returned to civilian life in July 1965 to work for Regal Textile Corporation in Ware Shoals, South Carolina, a job he had accepted before entering military service. Although promoted before completing the company's training program, he decided that he preferred Army life and in 1966 applied to return to active duty as an officer in the Regular Army.

Several months later, he received orders to report to Fort Bragg, North Carolina, for training in preparation for assignment to the Special Forces in Vietnam. Shelton served from September 1966 until July 1967 with the 5th Special Forces Group along the Ho Chi Minh Trail, engaged in cross-border operations to impede the flow of men and supplies from North Vietnam

General Henry H. Shelton
United States Army



Lieutenant Shelton on patrol along the Vietnamese border, 1967.

through Laos into South Vietnam. Promoted in March 1967, Captain Shelton received command of Detachment A-104 at Ha Thanh in the mountains of Quang Ngai province in South Vietnam in July. Through December 1967 he worked with the South Vietnamese Special Forces and local Montagnard tribesmen to disrupt Viet Cong infiltration across

the Laotian border. He received a Purple Heart after a poisoned punji stake drove through his leg and was awarded the Bronze Star with "V" Device for valor for leading the repulse of Viet Cong that had attacked one of his South Vietnamese patrols.

Following his tour with the Special Forces, Captain Shelton was assigned to the



Lieutenant General Shelton prepares to jump with his troops in France to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the D-Day landings, June 1994.

Army Training Center at Fort Jackson, South Carolina. He would spend most of the rest of his career in airborne and light infantry units. In January 1969 he returned to Vietnam as an intelligence officer with the 173d Airborne Brigade, subsequently becoming a company commander and later acting battalion operations officer. From March 1970 through July 1972 he was back at Fort Benning at the Army Infantry School, initially as a student in the Infantry Officer Advanced Course and then as an instructor and later an operations officer in the Florida Phase, Ranger Department. In June 1973 Shelton graduated from the Air Command and Staff College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, and received a master's

degree in political science from Auburn University. From Alabama, he went to the 25th Infantry Division at Schofield Barracks, Hawaii, where he held several staff positions, including executive officer of the 1st Battalion, 14th Infantry, 2d Brigade, and was promoted to major in February 1974. Major Shelton's next assignment was with the Army Military Personnel Center, Alexandria, Virginia, where he served from June 1977 until April 1979, handling the career management and assignments of other majors.

Promoted to lieutenant colonel in November 1978, Shelton assumed command of the 3d Battalion, 60th Infantry, 2d Brigade, 9th Infantry Division at Fort Lewis, Washington,



Lieutenant General Shelton (*right*), as Commander of Joint Task Force, Haiti, accompanies (*left to right*) Lieutenant Colonel Linton Graham, Commander, Caribbean Command Battalion; Ambassador William Swing, US Ambassador to Haiti; and Admiral Paul David Miller, Commander in Chief, US Atlantic Command, October 1994.

in April 1979. In June 1981 he became the division's Assistant Chief of Staff for Operations. Selected to attend the National War College, Fort McNair, Washington, DC, in 1982 and 1983, Lieutenant Colonel Shelton then served a brief tour at the Pentagon. Assigned to the Army Staff in June 1983, he chaired the Reserve Components Study Group in the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel until his promotion to colonel in October, when he received command of the 1st Brigade, 82d Airborne Division at Fort Bragg. While brigade commander, Colonel Shelton

directed a combined arms task force during several overseas deployments. In November 1985 he became Chief of Staff of the 10th Mountain Division at Fort Drum, New York.

After his selection for brigadier general, Shelton served in the Operations Directorate on the Joint Staff from July 1987 until July 1989 as a deputy director of the National Military Command Center and then as Deputy Director for Current Operations. He received his first star in August 1988. From the Joint Staff, Shelton went to Fort Campbell, Kentucky, as an assistant division commander



General Shelton during a visit to US soldiers deployed to Macedonia in support of the United Nations Preventive Deployment Force, April 1998.

with the 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault). During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, Brigadier General Shelton led the division's forces in a deep helicopter assault into Iraq. The division was poised to block Iraqi units fleeing to Baghdad when the war ended.

Over the next five years, Shelton held two of the Army's most prestigious commands. In May 1991 he returned to Fort Bragg as Commanding General of the 82d Airborne Division; he was promoted to major general that October. He assumed command of XVIII Airborne Corps and Fort Bragg upon promotion to lieutenant general in June 1993. As

corps commander, Lieutenant General Shelton gained national prominence leading the multinational operation which in 1994 restored an environment safe for the return of Haiti's democratically elected government. Shelton received his fourth star on 1 March 1996 after becoming Commander in Chief of the US Special Operations Command (USCINCSOC) at MacDill Air Force Base, Florida, on 29 February. Leading the command during a period of greatly increased demand for special operations forces worldwide, General Shelton defined the characteristics necessary for these forces to function

effectively well into the twenty-first century. During his tenure the largest operational commitment of special operations forces was to the peacekeeping mission in the Balkans.

General Shelton became the fourteenth Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on 1 October 1997. He was the first Chairman with a special operations background. This experience, together with his long career in airborne and light infantry units, gave him extensive knowledge of the type of military operations that predominated in the post-Cold War world and expertise that meshed with Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen's interest in unconventional warfare.

The end of the Cold War had brought major reductions in the size of the US military and in the number of forces permanently stationed overseas. Increasingly, US forces were deployed in peacekeeping and humanitarian operations as well as in more traditional deterrent missions. When General Shelton became Chairman, the major overseas involvement of US forces was in Bosnia, where they had been employed in peace operations since 1993. His tenure saw an unprecedented pace of military operations, with additional US forces engaged in Kosovo and in enforcing United Nations sanctions against Iraq as well as participating in counterdrug operations, hurricane relief in Latin America, and numerous other contingency deployments.

Repeatedly declaring that he did not believe in "fair fights," Shelton endorsed the use of overwhelming force once the decision was made to commit US forces to combat. But he thought that, in the uncertain strategic environment, the US military must also be prepared to undertake flexible missions with limited objectives. Force readiness, therefore, was a top priority. To address problems in recruitment and retention that adversely affected readiness, General Shelton led the Joint Chiefs of Staff in winning administration and congressional support for major reforms to improve military pay and retirement.

Shelton believed that key to implementing the administration's strategic vision for the twenty-first century was a robust joint experimentation program, while executing more frequent deployments with a reduced force structure necessitated greater attention to force integration and interoperability. When members of Congress proposed establishing a joint experimentation command, he recommended replacing the Atlantic Command with a new command focused on oversight of joint doctrine and experimentation and the preparation of US-based forces for deployment overseas. Under General Shelton's guidance, the Joint Forces Command came into existence on 1 October 1999, the same day that he began his second term as Chairman.

Henry Hugh Shelton

General, USA

Promotions

Dates

Temporary

Permanent

2LT	19 Sep 64*
1LT	07 Jan 65
CPT.	19 Mar 67
MAJ	07 Feb 74
LTC.	06 Nov 78
COL	01 Oct 83
BG	01 Aug 88
MG	01 Oct 91
LTG	07 Jun 93
GEN	01 Mar 96

*Date of rank adjusted for time not spent on active duty.

Assignments

Dates

From

To

Platoon Leader, Headquarters Company, 1st Battalion, 38th Infantry, 2d Infantry Division; Student, Ranger Course, US Army Infantry School; Platoon Leader, Company D, 1st Battalion, 5th Cavalry, 1st Cavalry Division, Fort Benning, GA.	1963	1965
US Army Reserve, not on active duty	1965	1966
Platoon Leader, Detachment B-52, 5th Special Forces Group, 1st Special Forces, US Army, Vietnam	1966	1967
Commander, Detachment A-104, Company C, 5th Special Forces Group, US Army, Pacific.	1967	1967
Executive Officer, 11th Battalion, 3d Training Brigade, US Army Training Center; then S-4, 3d Advanced Individual Training Brigade, Fort Jackson, SC	1968	1968
S-2; later Commander, Company C; later Acting S-3, 4th Battalion, 503d Infantry, 173d Airborne Brigade, US Army, Vietnam.	1969	1970
Student, Infantry Officer Advanced Course; later Instructor, then Operations Officer, Ranger Department, US Army Infantry School, Fort Benning, GA.	1970	1972

Assignments	Dates	
	From	To
Student, Air Command and Staff College, Maxwell Air Force Base, AL.	1972	1973
S-1, then S-3, 2d Brigade; then Chief, Officer Management Branch, then Deputy G-1, then Executive Officer, 1st Battalion, 14th Infantry, 2d Brigade, 25th Infantry Division, Schofield Barracks, HI.	1973	1977
Professional Development Officer, Combat Arms Branch, later, Chief, Assignments Branch, Majors Division, Officer Personnel Management Directorate, US Army Military Personnel Center, Alexandria, VA	1977	1979
Commander, 3d Battalion, 60th Infantry, 2d Brigade; then Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, 9th Infantry Division, Fort Lewis, WA	1979	1982
Student, National War College, Fort McNair, Washington, DC	1982	1983
Chairman, Reserve Components Study Group, Office, Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, US Army, Washington, DC	1983	1983
Commander, 1st Brigade, 82d Airborne Division, Fort Bragg, NC	1983	1985
Chief of Staff, 10th Mountain Division (Light Infantry), Fort Drum, NY	1985	1987
Deputy Director for Operations, National Military Command Center, J-3; then Deputy Director for Operations (Current Operations), J-3, Joint Staff, Washington, DC.	1987	1989
Assistant Division Commander, 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault), Fort Campbell, KY, also Assistant Division Commander, 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault), OPERATION DESERT STORM, Saudi Arabia, Aug 90-Mar 91	1989	1991
Commanding General, 82d Airborne Division, Fort Bragg, NC	1991	1993

Assignments

Dates

From

To

Commanding General, XVIII Airborne Corps

and Fort Bragg, Fort Bragg, NC, also

Commander, Joint Task Force, Haiti,

Sep-Oct 1994 1993 1996

Commander in Chief, US Special Operations

Command, MacDill Air Force Base, FL 1996 1997

Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, DC. . . 1997

Principal US Military Decorations and Qualifications

Defense Distinguished Service Medal (with 2 oak leaf clusters)

Army Distinguished Service Medal

Legion of Merit (with oak leaf cluster)

Bronze Star (with "V" device)

Bronze Star (with 3 oak leaf clusters)

Purple Heart

Meritorious Service Medal (with 2 oak leaf clusters)

Air Medal

Army Commendation Medal (with 3 oak leaf clusters)

Special Forces

Ranger

Master Parachutist

Military Freefall Parachutist

Air Assault

Pathfinder

Combat Infantryman

THE VICE CHAIRMEN



ROBERT TRALLES HERRES

6 February 1987 — 28 February 1990

Robert Herres was born on 1 December 1932 in Denver, Colorado. His father had taught Morse Code to Army aviators in World War I, and Herres's older brother graduated from the US Military Academy. Graduating from East High School in Denver, Herres applied for appointments to both West Point and the US Naval Academy, winning appointment to the latter in 1950. During the summer before his final year as a midshipman, he learned to fly seaplanes over the Chesapeake Bay. Enthralled by flying and anxious to begin flight training immediately upon graduation, Herres exercised an option available before the establishment of the Air Force Academy and entered the Air Force as a second lieutenant after graduating from the Naval Academy in 1954. Following flight training, Lieutenant Herres flew F-86 fighters for the next three years.

After earning a master's degree in electrical engineering from the Air Force Institute of Technology, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio, in 1958, Herres was promoted to captain in 1959 and to major five years later. From 1960 to 1963 he was assigned as an analyst at the US European Command Electronic Intelligence Center, Lindsey Air Station, West Germany, where he developed estimates of the technical capabilities of Soviet bloc forces. After a year in flight operations at Chateauroux Air Station in France, he entered the Air Command and Staff College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. During this period he also earned a master's degree in public administration from George Washington University.

Herres was selected as an astronaut-pilot in the Manned Orbiting Laboratory (MOL) program in 1966. Promoted in February 1967, Lieutenant Colonel Herres graduated from the Aerospace Research Pilot School, Edwards Air Force Base,

General Robert Tralles Herres
United States Air Force



Midshipman Herres aboard the USS *Albany*, 1951.

California, where he flew F-104 Starfighters and a variety of other aircraft. Moving to the MOL program at Los Angeles Air Force Station, California, he served from August 1967 to August 1969 as an aerospace research flight test officer, Chief of the Flight Crew Division, and Assistant to the Deputy Program Director for Test Operations.

He was promoted to colonel in November 1968 and, on cancellation of the MOL program in June 1969, became Deputy Chief of Staff for Plans and Requirements at the Air Force Flight Test Center, Edwards Air Force Base. From 1970 to 1971 Herres attended the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, Fort Lesley J. McNair, Washington, DC, where he helped draft a text on the military uses of space.

In 1971 Colonel Herres became Vice Commander of Strategic Air Command's (SAC) 449th Bombardment Wing, Kincheloe

Air Force Base, Michigan, flying B-52 bombers, and was appointed wing commander in February 1973. In April 1973 he left Kincheloe to command the 310th Strategic Wing (Provisional) at U-Tapao Royal Thai Naval Air Field, Thailand, where KC-135 tankers under his command flew missions in support of US military operations in Southeast Asia. Six months later, Herres returned to Kincheloe to resume command of the 449th. He remained there until March 1974, when he was designated Director of Command and Control at SAC Headquarters, Offutt Air Force Base, Nebraska. In September 1974 he was promoted to brigadier general.

During the next decade General Herres served both in command positions and in staff assignments involving command, control, and communications (C3). In 1975 he became Deputy Commander, Security Assistance



Lieutenant Colonel Herres, *far left*, at the announcement of his selection for the Manned Orbiting Laboratory program, 1967.

Programs, in the Electronics System Division, Hanscom Air Force Base, Massachusetts, where he managed foreign military sales programs. In August 1977 Herres joined the Air Staff as Assistant Chief of Staff for Communications and Computer Resources. He was promoted to major general in March 1978.

Two command assignments followed. Herres headed the Air Force Communications Command, Scott Air Force Base, Illinois, from

1979 to 1981. From 1981 to 1982 he commanded SAC's Eighth Air Force, Barksdale Air Force Base, Louisiana. His command included B-52s, FB-111s, KC-135s, and Minuteman and Titan intercontinental ballistic missiles. Having received his third star in August 1981, he returned to the Pentagon in 1982.

As Director of Command, Control, and Communications on the Joint Staff from October 1982 to July 1984, General Herres worked

closely with the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General John Vessey, and the Service Chiefs on programs, plans, and budgets affecting all unified and specified commands and their service components.

In July 1984 Herres was promoted to general and became the Commander in Chief of the US-Canadian North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) and its supporting US organization, the USAF Aerospace Defense Command (ADCOM); and Commander of the USAF Space Command at Peterson Air Force Base, Colorado. His skills as a pilot, engineer, technical intelligence analyst, commander, programmer, and manager of strategic command, control, and communications systems uniquely qualified him for these responsibilities.

From Colorado Springs, Herres continued to work with General Vessey on two related projects, the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)—a program to develop both terrestrial and space-based systems for the defense of North America against attack by Soviet ballistic missiles—and the establishment of a unified command for space. This new command was to assume broad responsibilities for military space systems supporting all three military departments and for both the ballistic missile defense effort and selected missions of the Aerospace Defense Command. The campaign to unify all US military space efforts succeeded on 23 September 1985, when President Ronald Reagan established the US Space Command and selected Herres as its first Commander in Chief (USCINCSpace).

On 6 February 1987 General Herres became the first Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, a position established by the 1986 Goldwater-Nichols DOD Reorganization Act. He served for two and one-half years with Admiral William Crowe. In formulating the responsibilities for this new posi-

tion, Crowe, Herres, and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger agreed that the Vice Chairman would chair the Joint Requirements Oversight Council (JROC) and the Nuclear Command and Control System; serve as Vice Chairman of the Defense Acquisition Board (DAB); and represent the Chairman on the Defense Resources Board, the executive committee of the On-Site Inspection Agency, the Nuclear Weapons Council, the Aeronautics and Astronautics Coordinating Board, and the National Space Council. When the Bush administration established the Deputies Committee of the National Security Council in 1989, the Vice Chairman served as the Chairman's representative on the committee. Admiral Crowe relied on Herres for his technical expertise, particularly in the areas of space and command and control.

As Chairman of the JROC and Vice Chairman of the DAB, Herres institutionalized the role of the military in setting requirements for major weapons systems. As *Defense Weekly* summarized, he "breathed new life into the JROC . . . and put the process back in the hands of the military and the Joint Staff." In the JROC, Herres and the Service Vice Chiefs developed procedures for review and evaluation of potential joint military requirements, selected new programs to recommend to the DAB for joint development and acquisition, oversaw cross-service requirements and management issues, and resolved service differences that arose after initiation of joint programs. During Herres's tenure the JROC focused on close air support, space-based surveillance, and antisatellite systems.

Herres served briefly as Vice Chairman with General Colin Powell, who became Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on 1 October 1989. During the early months of Powell's chairmanship, Herres worked with his counterparts in the NSC Deputies Committee during the attempted rebel coup



General Herres, as Acting Chairman, briefs the National Security Council at the White House, 1987. *Left to right:* General Herres, Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger, President Ronald Reagan.

against Philippine President Corazon Aquino in November 1989 and the US intervention in Panama that December.

General Herres chose to retire before the expiration of his second term. Following his retirement on 28 February 1990, he joined USAA, a diversified insurance and financial services association headquartered in San Antonio, Texas. He was appointed its chairman and chief executive officer in September 1993. In retirement, Herres chaired the presi-

dential commission appointed to assess the role of women in the military and was a member of Vice President Dan Quayle's Space Policy Advisory Board and the Augustine Committee, which, at the request of President George H. W. Bush, reviewed the future of the US space program. He was chairman of the board of the Insurance Institute for Highway Safety and the Insurance Information Institute and chairman of the National Association of Independent Insurers. An Eagle Scout,

Herres was elected to the national executive board of the Boy Scouts of America. He also served as chairman of the national board of directors of Junior Achievement and was a member of the board of the Atlantic Council

of the United States, The National Mentoring Partnership, and the Neighborhood Housing Services of America. In April 2000 he retired as Chief Executive Officer of USAA but remained chairman of the board.

Robert Tralles Herres

General, USAF

Promotions

	Dates	
	Temporary	Permanent
2LT	04 Jun 54	
1LT	04 Jun 55	04 Jun 57
CPT.	29 Apr 59	04 Jun 61
MAJ.	15 Jul 64.	04 Jun 68
LTC.	20 Feb 67	04 Jun 75
COL	01 Nov 69.	01 Oct 77
BG	01 Sep 74	04 Dec 80
MG	01 Mar 78.	01 Jan 83
LTG.	01 Aug 81	
GEN	01 Aug 84	

Assignments

	Dates	
	From	To
Student, US Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD	1950	1954
Student, Pilot Training, 3560th Student Squadron, Webb Air Force Base, TX	1954	1955
Pilot, later Air Electronics Maintenance Officer, 93d Fighter-Interceptor Squadron, Kirtland Air Force Base, NM	1955	1958
Student, Air Force Institute of Technology, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, OH	1958	1960
Technical Intelligence Analyst (Electronics Engineer), later Chief, Defensive Capabilities Section, US European Command, Electronic Intelligence Center, Lindsey Air Station, Germany	1960	1963
Assistant Chief, later Chief, Flight Training Branch, 7322d Air Base Wing, Chateauroux Air Station, France	1963	1964
Student, Air Command and Staff College, Maxwell Air Force Base, AL	1964	1965
Instructor, Weapons Employment Division, Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, AL . . .	1965	1966
Student, Aerospace Research Pilot School, Edwards Air Force Base, CA	1966	1967
Aerospace Research Flight Test Officer; later Chief, Flight Crew Division; and Assistant to the Deputy Program Director for Test Operations, Manned Orbiting Laboratory Program, Los Angeles Air Force Station, CA	1967	1969

Assignments	Dates	
	From	To
Deputy Chief of Staff, Plans and Requirements, Air Force Flight Test Center, Edwards Air Force Base, CA	1969	1970
Student, Industrial College of the Armed Forces, Fort McNair, Washington, DC	1970	1971
Vice Commander, later Commander, 449th Bombardment Wing, Kincheloe Air Force Base, MI	1971	1973
Commander, 310th Strategic Wing (Provisional), U-Tapao Royal Thai Naval Airfield, Thailand . .	1973	1973
Commander, 449th Bombardment Wing, Kincheloe Air Force Base, MI	1973	1974
Director, Command and Control, Headquarters, Strategic Air Command, Offutt Air Force Base, NE	1974	1975
Deputy Commander, Security Assistance Programs, Electronic Systems Division, Hanscom Air Force Base, MA	1975	1977
Assistant Chief of Staff, Communications and Computer Resources, and later Director, Command, Control and Communications, Headquarters, US Air Force, Washington, DC . .	1977	1979
Commander, Air Force Communications Command, Scott Air Force Base, IL	1979	1981
Commander, Eighth Air Force, Barksdale Air Force Base, LA	1981	1982
Director, Command, Control and Communication Systems, Organization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, DC	1982	1984
Commander in Chief, North American Aerospace Defense Command and Aerospace Defense Command and Commander, US Air Force Space Command, Peterson Air Force Base, CO	1984	1985
Commander in Chief, North American Aerospace Defense Command and US Space Command, and Commander, US Air Force Space Command, Peterson Air Force Base, CO	1985	1987
Vice Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, DC	1987	1990

Principal US Military Decorations and Qualifications

Defense Distinguished Service Medal (with 3 oak leaf clusters)

Air Force Distinguished Service Medal (with oak leaf cluster)

Navy Distinguished Service Medal

Army Distinguished Service Medal

Legion of Merit (with oak leaf cluster)

Bronze Star

Meritorious Service Medal

Air Medal

Air Force Commendation Medal

Command Pilot

Senior Missileman

Air Traffic Controller

Space



DAVID ELMER JEREMIAH

1 March 1990 — 28 February 1994

David Jeremiah was born on 25 February 1934 in Portland, Oregon. He graduated from Lincoln High School in Portland and earned a bachelor of business administration in 1955 from the University of Oregon, Eugene. Jeremiah entered Naval Officer Candidate School and was commissioned an ensign on 30 March 1956. During the next ten years he served on five destroyers in the US Pacific Fleet and rose to lieutenant commander.

From 1966 to 1968 Lieutenant Commander Jeremiah worked in the Surface Electronic Warfare Systems Section in the Office of the Deputy Chief of Naval Operations for Fleet Operations and Readiness. During this period he saw that policy was often made through the financial process; so in 1968 he earned a master of science in financial management from George Washington University. After a tour as Executive Officer of the guided missile destroyer USS *Joseph Strauss*, Commander Jeremiah attended Armed Forces Staff College from August 1970 to January 1971. Four months later he graduated from the program management development course at the Harvard Business School.

Over the next several years, staff assignments alternated with sea duty. In 1971 Jeremiah became an analyst in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Program Analysis and Evaluation. From 1974 to 1976 he commanded the guided missile destroyer USS *Preble*. In 1976 he headed the Programs, Plans, and Development Branch in the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations (CNO). He was promoted to captain in 1977. From 1979 to 1980, he commanded Destroyer Squadron 24. The following two years he served

Admiral David E. Jeremiah
United States Navy



Ensign Jeremiah.

as Executive Assistant to the Commander in Chief of the Pacific Fleet. He next served as Executive Assistant to the Chief of Naval Operations and was promoted to flag rank on 1 October 1983.

From August 1984 to April 1986 Jeremiah, now a rear admiral, commanded Cruiser-Destroyer Group EIGHT and during that period twice saw action in the Mediterranean. As Commander of Task Force 60, embarked in the carrier USS *Saratoga* (CV 60), Jeremiah coordinated naval air efforts in October 1985

that forced down an Egyptian commercial airliner carrying the hijackers of the Italian cruise ship *Achille Lauro*. While engaged in freedom of navigation operations in the Gulf of Sidra in 1986, forces under his command destroyed several missile patrol craft and two Libyan surface-to-air missile sites.

Jeremiah left the Mediterranean and, after promotion to vice admiral, served in the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations as Director of Program Planning from April 1986 to September 1987. On 29 September 1987 the Navy



Commander Jeremiah on board the USS *Joseph Strauss*, 1970.

promoted him to admiral and selected him to be the twenty-third Commander in Chief of the US Pacific Fleet (USCINCPACFLT).

With extensive operational experience, including command in the Mediterranean and the Pacific, and programmatic and fiscal management expertise, Admiral Jeremiah

became the nation's second Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on 1 March 1990. He assumed responsibility in the areas of joint warfighting requirements development, resource allocation, crisis-policy management, nuclear weapons development and security, and oversight of intelligence requirements.



Rear Admiral Jeremiah, as commander of Task Force 60, in the task force command and control room of the USS *Saratoga* during operations off the coast of Libya, 1986.

Jeremiah once observed that, in fulfilling these responsibilities for the Chairman, the job of Vice Chairman was "the broadest in the Department of Defense, certainly the broadest job in military uniform."

Admiral Jeremiah served with General Colin L. Powell for three and one-half years. Their working relationship closely resembled a partnership, with Powell describing Jeremiah as his "alter ego." They decided that the

Vice Chairman should participate fully in the management and direction of the Joint Staff and in providing military advice to the National Command Authorities. Jeremiah dealt with the services on programs and budgets, with the National Security Council (NSC) Deputies Committee in crisis management, and with the Director of Central Intelligence on intelligence requirements and oversight. Powell relied on Jeremiah as a sounding board and source of advice on a wide range of issues. Thus Jeremiah's influence went well beyond his responsibilities as Chairman of the Joint Requirements Oversight Council (JROC) and Vice Chairman of the Defense Acquisition Board (DAB) and as the Chairman's representative in the interagency policy-making process. In October 1992, with strong backing from Powell, Congress made the Vice Chairman a full member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

After the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, Admiral Jeremiah worked as a member of the NSC Deputies Committee to orchestrate the military buildup in Saudi Arabia, preserve a diverse coalition, define US objectives, and oversee operations to liberate Kuwait. For his contributions during the Persian Gulf War, he received the President's Citizens Medal.

During both the Bush and Clinton administrations, when the Deputies Committee debated the use of US forces in regional crises in Somalia, Haiti, and Bosnia, Jeremiah opposed such involvement unless it was part of a comprehensive program to address the roots of the crisis in each country. Nevertheless, in 1992, when international famine relief efforts in Somalia were frustrated by Somali warlords and roving bandits, Admiral Jeremiah supported President George H. W. Bush's decision to deploy US forces there in December as part of a relief operation. Operation RESTORE HOPE succeeded in reopening

delivery routes and protecting UN food relief convoys.

When a United Nations follow-on force took over the operation in May 1993, it lacked a clear chain of command, agreed objectives, and the supporting economic and political support that Admiral Jeremiah persistently advocated, and forces controlled by Somali warlords, notably Mohammed Farah Aideed, resumed their depredations. In June after gunmen ambushed and killed twenty-four Pakistani soldiers, the UN Security Council called for the capture of those responsible for the killings. Together with General Powell, Admiral Jeremiah opposed calls for deployment of Special Operations Forces (SOF) but reluctantly agreed in August after repeated attacks on US troops.

After Powell retired on 30 September 1993, attacks on US forces in Somalia led to a change in US policy. As Acting Chairman until General John Shalikashvili became Chairman on 25 October, Admiral Jeremiah was a key participant in setting a new course. On 3 October 1993, after a successful SOF raid in which important subordinates of Aideed were captured, Somali gunmen shot down two US helicopters. When US troops attempted a rescue, a large force of Somalis pinned down the Americans, killing eighteen and wounding eighty-four. Public reaction led President William J. Clinton to withdraw SOF forces. He set a specific timetable for withdrawal and, at Jeremiah's urging, directed both ground and sea-based reinforcement of the remaining forces to stabilize the situation.

Wary of deploying US ground combat troops to areas where no US vital interest was at stake, Admiral Jeremiah also argued within the Deputies Committee against ground operations in Haiti and Bosnia. He recommended multinational efforts to reorganize the Haitian security forces, restore the elected president, and provide developmental aid. Despite his



Admiral Jeremiah meets with the headman and a tribesman in Oddur, Somalia, 1992.

warning that adequate diplomatic groundwork was not in place, the *USS Harlan County*, with a US training mission of nearly 200 troops was sent to Haiti in October 1993, only to be prevented from docking at Port-au-Prince by paramilitary gangs loyal to the ruling military junta.

The contingencies in Somalia, Haiti, and Bosnia; the threat from Iraq and North Korea; international terrorism; and the worldwide activities of the drug cartels presented an array of strategic challenges. At the same time, US public opinion called for a shift of resources to domestic needs. As they restructured defense posture after the Cold War,

senior defense officials in both the Bush and Clinton administrations relied upon Admiral Jeremiah's advice to reshape policy on acquisition, force structure, and resource issues, particularly the DOD infrastructure.

As Chairman of the JROC and Vice Chairman of the DAB, Jeremiah faced the basic challenge of choosing weapons and communications systems for the twenty-first century at a time when little money was available to start new projects. He sought to move away from systems that could not be easily adapted to exploit new technologies or that were so highly specialized that they could

only be used against a narrow threat or in a unique environment.

Admiral Jeremiah worked with the other members of the JROC to develop a requirements system in which advanced weapons and systems could be produced on a smaller scale and combined with existing systems to satisfy contingency requirements while maintaining the US lead in defense technology. In Jeremiah's view, this would speed production, reduce costs, and allow the military to exploit new technologies in designing doctrine, tactics, and organizations. Within the JROC, Admiral Jeremiah pushed for several weapons systems he deemed vital to joint warfighting. Among these were joint command and control systems for global and theater contingencies, strategic sealift and the C-17 aircraft for modern strategic lift capability, better means for combat identification of friendly forces, and increased deployment of unmanned aerial vehicles to improve battlefield intelligence for the theater and joint task force commander.

Following heart surgery in November 1993, Admiral Jeremiah continued to serve as General Shalikashvili's Vice Chairman and perform a broad range of national security duties until his retirement on 28 February 1994. On his retirement, Australia awarded

him the first Order of Australia given to a foreign officer.

In retirement, Jeremiah became president of Technology Strategies & Alliances, a northern Virginia-based strategic consulting and investment banking firm engaged primarily in the aerospace, defense, telecommunications, and electronics industries. He was a member of the Defense Policy Board and in 1997 served on the National Defense Panel, which studied how the US military should prepare for the twenty-first century. On a number of occasions the US intelligence community called upon him as a troubleshooter. In 1996 Jeremiah chaired a blue-ribbon panel that examined the organization of the National Reconnaissance Office and recommended changes to improve its responsiveness. In 1998 he headed an inquiry for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) into the intelligence community's failure to anticipate India's testing of nuclear weapons, and the Director of Central Intelligence selected him to chair the 1999 independent review of the CIA's internal assessment of the damage to national security resulting from Chinese espionage activities at US nuclear weapons laboratories. Jeremiah also served on the boards of several corporations and nonprofit organizations.

David Elmer Jeremiah

Admiral, USN

Promotions

Dates

	Temporary	Permanent
ENS.		30 Mar 56
LTJG		30 Sep 57
LT.		01 May 60
LCDR		01 Mar 65
CDR		01 Sep 69
CAPT.		01 Apr 77
COMO	Jul 82	01 Oct 83
RADM	01Apr 85	01 Sep 86
VADM	01 Jul 86	
ADM.	01 Oct 87	

Assignments

Dates

	From	To
Naval Recruiting Station and Office of Naval Officer Procurement, Seattle, WA	1956	1956
USS <i>Charles E. Brannon</i>	1956	1959
Released from active duty.	1959	1961
USS <i>McGinty</i>	1961	1962
USS <i>Twining</i>	1962	1964
Fleet Training Center, San Diego, CA	1964	1964
Operations Officer, USS <i>Benjamin Stoddert</i>	1964	1966
Assistant Head, Surface Electronics Warfare Systems Section, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Fleet Operations and Readiness, Washington, DC	1966	1968
Executive Officer, USS <i>Joseph Strauss</i>	1968	1970
Student, Armed Forces Staff College, Norfolk, VA.	1970	1971
Student, Harvard University	1971	1971
Systems Analyst, Office of the Secretary of Defense, Washington, DC	1971	1974
Naval Destroyer School, Newport, RI	1974	1974
Commander, USS <i>Preble</i>	1974	1976
Head, Program, Plans and Development Branch, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Washington, DC	1976	1979
Commander, Destroyer Squadron 24	1979	1980

Assignments

Dates

	From	To
Executive Assistant to the Commander in Chief, US Pacific Fleet	1980	1982
Executive Assistant to the Chief of Naval Operations, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Washington, DC	1982	1984
Commander, Cruiser-Destroyer Group EIGHT.	1984	1986
Director, Navy Program Planning, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Washington, DC	1986	1987
Commander in Chief, US Pacific Fleet.	1987	1990
Vice Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, DC	1990	1994

Principal US Military Decorations and Qualifications

Defense Distinguished Service Medal
Navy Distinguished Service Medal (with 3 gold stars)
Army Distinguished Service Medal
Air Force Distinguished Service Medal
Legion of Merit (with gold star)
Meritorious Service Medal (with gold star)
Navy Achievement Medal (with combat "V")

Surface Warfare Officer



WILLIAM ARTHUR OWENS

1 March 1994 — 29 February 1996

William Owens was born 8 May 1940 in Bismarck, North Dakota. His maternal grandfather had served in the Spanish-American War, his father had been a Navy enlisted man during World War I, and the uncle for whom he was named had been a US Naval Academy graduate. Originally planning to attend the University of North Dakota, Owens decided to seek an appointment to the Naval Academy after seeing a movie about life there. He entered the Academy after graduating from Bismarck High School in 1958. In June 1962 he received a bachelor of science degree in naval science and his commission as an ensign.

After almost two years of training, Owens, who had been promoted to lieutenant (junior grade) in December 1963, embarked on a career as a nuclear submariner, eventually spending a total of over six years undersea. His first undersea tour was on the ballistic missile submarine USS *James Monroe* (SSBN 622) from April 1964 until March 1966. During that tour he was promoted to lieutenant.

Following naval guided missile school, Lieutenant Owens served briefly on the USS *Tecumseh* (SSBN 628). From there, he was selected to be Engineering Officer of the nuclear attack submarine USS *Seadragon* (SSN 584). During his time aboard, the *Seadragon* participated in surveillance operations off North Vietnam during 1966 and 1967. Owens remained with the *Seadragon* until June 1971, playing a key role during its almost three-year overhaul. Named Submarine Force Pacific Fleet Officer of the Year in 1969, he was promoted to lieutenant commander in September of that year.

Admiral William A. Owens
United States Navy

Owens's first staff assignment was in the Office of the Secretary of the Navy, where from June 1971 until July 1972 he was Assistant Head of the Special Studies and Objectives Division in the Office of Program Appraisal. The recipient of a Chief of Naval Operations Fellows scholarship to study at Oxford University in England, Lieutenant Commander Owens received a B.A. and an M.A. in politics, philosophy, and economics from Oxford in 1974. Following a training assignment with Commander, Submarine Squadron ONE, he served as Executive Officer of the Pacific Fleet's USS *Pogy* (SSN 647) from December 1974 until August 1977. He received an M.B.A. in engineering management from George Washington University in 1975.

After his promotion to commander in July 1977, training at Admiral Hyman Rickover's Division of Naval Reactors at the Department of Energy and the commanding officers' school in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, prepared Owens for the next stage of his career. From July 1978 to August 1980 he commanded the Pacific Fleet's USS *Sam Houston* (SSBN 609). Next he served short assignments as Deputy Commander for Readiness on the squadron staff of Submarine Squadron TEN and then as Commanding Officer of the USS *Corpus Christi* (SSN 705).

After a year with the first Strategic Studies Group at the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island, where he participated in the development of the Navy's maritime strategy, Commander Owens became Executive Assistant to the Director of Naval Warfare in the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations. He served in that position from August 1982 to June 1984, a period during which the directorate's scope expanded to include electronic, arctic, and theater nuclear warfare. During this time Owens also guided the Navy's war gaming effort.

He was promoted to captain in August 1983 and assumed command of Submarine Squadron FOUR in the summer of 1984. As squadron commander supervising the operations of fourteen ships that deployed from the Mediterranean to the North Atlantic, Captain Owens introduced some of the first tactics for the employment of fast attack submarines with other Navy and Air Force systems. He next served as Chief of Staff to the Commander Submarine Force, Atlantic, from June 1985 to March 1986.

There followed a series of increasingly important assignments ashore and afloat. After serving as Executive Assistant and Senior Aide to the Vice Chief of Naval Operations from March 1986 to June 1987 and receiving his promotion to rear admiral (lower half) in May 1987, Owens assumed command of Submarine Group SIX, the Navy's largest submarine group. In that capacity, he exercised operational control of nuclear-powered submarines operating in the Western Atlantic. When the Navy established the Strategic Think Tank in the spring of 1988, Owens received additional responsibilities as its first Director. In June 1988 he returned to the Office of Program Appraisal on the Secretary of the Navy's Staff as Director. After only a month in that position, he became Senior Military Assistant to Secretary of Defense Frank C. Carlucci. Owens continued to serve in that position under Carlucci's successor, Secretary Dick Cheney, and received his second star in August 1990.

In October Rear Admiral Owens assumed command of the SIXTH Fleet and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) Strike Force South, Allied Naval Forces South. He was promoted to vice admiral in February 1991. The first shots of the Persian Gulf War were launched from ships under Vice Admiral Owens's command in the Eastern Mediterranean. During the war, carriers from his



Rear Admiral Owens accompanies Secretary of Defense-designate Dick Cheney, March 1989.

command were deployed to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. To carry out these additional responsibilities while meeting heightened requirements in the Mediterranean, new force configurations were introduced emphasizing joint capabilities and information warfare. These smaller configurations proved to have greater capability than expected. The Navy's need to modify its operational doctrine during the war greatly influenced Owens's thinking. Concluding that the Gulf War had been "a doctrinal disaster for the U.S. Navy," he

became convinced of the need "to free operational thinking from the assumptions of the past" and to move beyond a maritime strategy that relied almost solely on carrier battle groups for almost all operations.

Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Frank B. Kelso II selected Vice Admiral Owens to be the first Deputy Chief of Naval Operations for Resources, Warfare Requirements, and Assessment (N-8). From July 1992 to December 1993 Owens directed the reorganization of the Navy Staff to meet the new challenges of the



Admiral Owens and the other Joint Requirements Oversight Council members at their weekly breakfast meeting, summer 1995. *Left to right:* Rear Admiral Francis W. Lacroix, Director for Force Structure, Resources and Assessment, Joint Staff; Admiral Owens; Admiral Joseph W. Prueher, Vice Chief of Naval Operations; General Thomas S. Moorman, Vice Chief of Staff, USAF; General Richard D. Hearney, Assistant Commandant, USMC; General Ronald H. Griffith, Vice Chief of Staff, USA.

post-Cold War world. He oversaw the radical reduction in the Navy's force structure from almost 600 ships to about 340. To enhance the flexibility and effectiveness of a reduced force, he integrated surface, submarine, and aviation warfare; pressed for increased reliance on high technology; and advocated greater Navy participation in joint warfare. In 1995 the Naval Institute Press published his book *High Seas: The Naval Passage to an Uncharted World*, in which he described the

reforms he had introduced and presented his proposals for a new strategy for the Navy and the nation for the twenty-first century.

Promoted to admiral in December 1993, when he was designated Commander in Chief of the Pacific Fleet, Owens had just arrived to assume his new position when President William J. Clinton nominated him as Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. On 1 March 1994 Admiral Owens became the nation's third Vice Chairman.



Admiral Owens with Secretary of Defense William J. Perry and President William J. Clinton, August 1995.

As Vice Chairman, Admiral Owens used his position as chairman of the Joint Requirements Oversight Council (JROC) to advance his concept of a joint “system of systems” that would utilize the most recent advances in intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance; communications and information technologies; and precision guided munitions to achieve “dominant battlefield awareness” for the US military in any environment. A vocal and tireless proponent of the need to take advantage of the revolution in technology to enhance military effectiveness in an era of reduced defense spending, Owens strove to end dupli-

cation of weapons systems among the services and to ensure the interoperability of new systems. To accomplish his objectives, he increased the JROC’s analytical capabilities; established the Joint Monthly Readiness Review, which he chaired; and was instrumental in the creation of the National Imagery Agency Senior Steering Group, which he co-chaired.

With the support of the Chairman, General John M. Shalikashvili, Admiral Owens fully exploited the authority that the Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act vested in the Chairman of the Joint

Chiefs of Staff and, by extension, the Vice Chairman. Under his direction, the JROC's scope broadened to include programming; the commanders in chief of the unified commands (CINCs) became direct participants in the JROC process; and that process was integrated into the Defense Department's planning, programming, and budgeting system (PPBS). Owens also sought congressional support for his initiatives. As a result, the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1996 amended the Goldwater-Nichols Act to give statutory authority to the JROC and designated the JCS Chairman as its chairman, allowing him to delegate the position only to the Vice Chairman.

Admiral Owens chose to retire at the end of one term as Vice Chairman. His tenure had greatly increased both the authority and the visibility of the Vice Chairman's position and expanded the military's role in defense programming. His ideas, especially his advocacy

of greater reliance on high technology, were controversial and inspired considerable debate, which continued beyond his tenure as Vice Chairman.

After his retirement on 29 February 1996 Owens became vice chairman of the board and then president of Science Applications International Corporation (SAIC), the nation's largest employee-owned high-technology company. In late 1998 he was named vice chairman of the board and chief executive officer of Teledesic Holdings, Ltd., part of a new firm founded by corporate leaders in the high-technology field to deploy a network of satellites to provide a range of telecommunications services worldwide. He became co-chief executive officer of the parent company, Teledesic, in April 1999. Owens also wrote a second book, *Lifting the Fog of War*, presenting his ideas on the role of advanced technology in future warfare.

William Arthur Owens

Admiral, USN

Promotions

Dates

Temporary

Permanent

ENS.		06 Jun 62
LTJG		06 Dec 63
LT.		01 Dec 65
LCDR		01 Sep 69
CDR		01 Jul 77
CAPT.		01 Aug 83
RADM (LH).	May 87	01 Nov 88
RADM	13 Aug 90.	01 Sep 91
VADM	01 Feb 91	
ADM	02 Dec 93	

Assignments

Dates

From

To

Midshipman, US Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD	1958	1962
Nuclear Power School, Mare Island, Vallejo, CA	1962	1963
Naval Nuclear Power Training Unit, Idaho Falls, ID.	1963	1963
Naval Submarine School, Groton, CT	1963	1964
USS <i>James Monroe</i>	1964	1966
Naval Guided Missiles School, Dam Neck, Virginia Beach, VA	1966	1966
USS <i>Tecumseh</i>	1966	1966
Engineering Officer, USS <i>Seadragon</i>	1966	1971
Assistant Head, Special Studies and Objectives Division, Office of Program Appraisal, Office of the Secretary of the Navy, Washington, DC	1971	1972
Student, Oxford University, United Kingdom	1972	1974
Training, Commander, Submarine Squadron ONE	1974	1974
Executive Officer, USS <i>Pogy</i>	1974	1977
Training, Division of Naval Reactors, Department of Energy, Washington, DC	1977	1977
Student, Commander Submarine School, Pearl Harbor, HI	1977	1978

Assignments

	Dates	
	From	To
Commanding Officer, USS <i>Sam Houston</i>	1978	1980
Deputy Commander for Readiness, Commander Submarine Squadron TEN	1980	1981
Commanding Officer, USS <i>Corpus Christi</i>	1981	1981
Research Fellow, Naval War College	1981	1982
Executive Assistant to the Director, Naval Warfare, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Washington, DC	1982	1984
Commander, Submarine Squadron FOUR	1984	1985
Chief of Staff to the Commander Submarine Force, Atlantic	1985	1986
Executive Assistant/Senior Aide to the Vice Chief of Naval Operations, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Washington, DC	1986	1987
Commander, Submarine Group SIX	1987	1988
Director, Office of Program Appraisal, Office of the Secretary of the Navy, Washington, DC	1988	1988
Senior Military Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, Washington, DC	1988	1990
Commander SIXTH Fleet and Commander, Strike Force South, Allied Naval Forces South	1990	1992
Deputy Chief of Naval Operations, Resources, Warfare Requirements, and Assessment, Washington, DC	1992	1993
Vice Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, DC	1994	1996

Principal US Military Decorations and Qualifications

Defense Distinguished Service Medal
 Navy Distinguished Service Medal (with 1 gold star)
 Army Distinguished Service Medal
 Defense Superior Service Medal
 Legion of Merit (with 3 gold stars)
 Meritorious Service Medal
 Navy Commendation Medal (with 1 gold star)

Submarine Officer
 Missile Submarine Officer
 Nuclear Power Engineer



JOSEPH RALSTON

1 March 1996 — 29 February 2000

Joseph Ralston was born in Hopkinsville, Kentucky, on 4 November 1943 and spent his early childhood in Fairview, Kentucky. He moved to Norwood, Ohio, a suburb of Cincinnati, when he was eleven and graduated from Norwood High School. Ralston worked his way through Miami University of Ohio, receiving a bachelor of arts in chemistry in June 1965. A distinguished graduate of the Air Force Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) program, he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Regular Air Force that July.

Following pilot and combat crew training and promotion to first lieutenant in January 1967, Ralston served as an F-105 fighter pilot with tactical fighter squadrons based at Kadena Air Base, Okinawa, from April 1967 until October 1969. During that time Lieutenant Ralston flew missions over Southeast Asia out of Korat Royal Thai Air Force Base, Thailand, and deployed to Korea in response to North Korea's seizure of the USS *Pueblo*. He was promoted to captain in July 1968. Captain Ralston returned to Southeast Asia in 1970 as an F-105 Wild Weasel pilot with the 354th Tactical Fighter Squadron, flying out of Takhli Royal Thai Air Force Base, Thailand, to counter North Vietnamese antiaircraft missile defense. During his two tours in Southeast Asia, Ralston flew 147 combat missions over Laos and North Vietnam and received four awards of the Distinguished Flying Cross. His accomplishments included coordinating the rescue of a downed crew while under prolonged hostile fire. On his return to the United States in October 1970, Ralston became a Wild Weasel instructor pilot with the 66th Fighter Weapons Squadron at Nellis Air Force Base, Nevada.

General Joseph Ralston
United States Air Force



Lieutenant Ralston before a mission in Southeast Asia.

In December 1971 Ralston moved to his first assignment in the development of systems requirements, an area in which he would spend a significant portion of his career. Until June 1973 he was a fighter requirements officer and project officer for F-15 and lightweight fighter programs in the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Requirements at Headquarters Tactical Air Command, Langley Air Force Base, Virginia. From there he went to Seymour Johnson Air Force Base, North Carolina, where he was

Assistant Operations Officer with the 335th Tactical Fighter Squadron and then Chief of the Standardization and Evaluation Division of the 4th Tactical Fighter Wing. During the October 1973 Arab-Israeli War, Ralston organized and directed the flight planning team responsible for the rapid, nonstop movement of F-4 fighters from Seymour Johnson to Israel. He was promoted to major in December 1973. From June 1975 until June 1976 Major Ralston attended the Army Command and General Staff College at Fort Leaven-



Lieutenant General Ralston in the cockpit of his aircraft in Alaska.

worth, Kansas. In 1976 he also received a master's degree in personnel management from Central Michigan University.

In his first assignment at the Pentagon, Ralston spent the next three years on the Air Staff as a tactical systems requirements officer and program manager in the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Research, Development, and Acquisition, where he was part of the original team overseeing development of Stealth technology. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel in April 1978. In July 1979 he moved to Moody Air Force Base, Georgia, as Operations Officer of the 68th Tactical Fighter Squadron and later assumed command of

the squadron. Lieutenant Colonel Ralston returned to Headquarters Tactical Air Command in July 1980 as Special Assistant and then Executive Officer to the Commander. Promoted to colonel in June 1981, he was selected to attend the National War College at Fort McNair, Washington, DC, during 1983–1984.

The next dozen years saw him selected for increasingly important positions in requirements and acquisition as well as for significant command assignments. After graduating from the National War College, Colonel Ralston returned to the Air Staff, where, as Special Assistant for Low Observable Technology in the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff



Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen swears in General Ralston as Vice Chairman, 1 March 1996.

for Research, Development, and Acquisition, he again played a key role in the development of Stealth technology and its application to the F-117 aircraft. In February 1986 Ralston received his second command: the 56th Tactical Training Wing at MacDill Air Force Base, Florida. Returning to Headquarters Tactical Air Command in March 1987, he was responsible for the acquisition, production, and fielding of major weapons systems modernizing tactical air forces, first as Assistant Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and then as Deputy Chief of Staff for Requirements. He was promoted to brigadier general in March 1988. In June 1990 Brigadier General Ralston returned to the Pentagon; he received his sec-

ond star in August. For the next two years he continued to work in requirements and acquisition as Director of Tactical Programs in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Acquisition and then as Director of Operational Requirements in the Plans and Operations Directorate on the Air Staff.

Upon promotion to lieutenant general in June 1992, Ralston assumed command of the Alaskan Command, Alaskan North American Aerospace Defense Command Region, 11th Air Force, and Joint Task Force Alaska at Elmendorf Air Force Base, Alaska. In July 1994 he returned to the Air Staff as Deputy Chief of Staff for Plans and Operations. In June 1995 Ralston assumed command of Air



General Ralston meets in Oman with Sultan Qaboos bin Said.

Combat Command at Langley Air Force Base, responsible for training and equipping all Air Force, Air National Guard, and Air Force Reserve combat wings and squadrons in the United States and Panama. He received his fourth star in July.

General Ralston became the fourth Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on 1 March 1996. He was the first Vice Chairman to serve a substantial portion of his tenure with more than one Chairman: nineteen months with General John M. Shalikashvili, USA, and twenty-nine months with General

Henry H. Shelton, USA. When General Ralston became Vice Chairman, General Shalikashvili and he agreed that Ralston would function as Shalikashvili's deputy, fully participating in all aspects of the Chairman's day-to-day activities, in addition to carrying out his specific responsibilities as Vice Chairman. Shalikashvili came to regard Ralston as his "most trusted adviser." Shelton and Ralston had an association of many years, which enabled them to work closely together from the beginning of Shelton's chairmanship and to continue the approach to sharing responsibilities

adopted at the beginning of Ralston's tenure. As a result of this arrangement, Ralston devoted at least half of his time to overseeing current operations.

During the four years of his tenure Ralston found himself increasingly absorbed in the interagency process. His active participation in the Deputies Committee, described by one of its members as "the chief operating committee for American foreign policy" during the second Clinton administration, ensured the inclusion of military advice in the early stages of policy formulation. General Ralston played a key role in the development of administration policy on the intervention in Kosovo and in guiding its implementation in the US-led air campaign there, where the US air forces demonstrated the results of his contributions to Air Force modernization.

Ralston brought to his duties as Chairman of the Joint Requirements Oversight Council (JROC) and Vice Chairman of the Defense Acquisition Board (DAB) his extensive experience in the requirements and acquisition process and in overseeing the develop-

ment of future technologies. In managing the JROC, he saw his function to be "harmonizing" service positions on programs so that national security needs could be met within budgetary constraints. To facilitate this, he created the two-star JROC Review Board (JRB) to determine which issues would go forward to the JROC. Ralston's work in coordinating the Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR), the Defense Department's review of post-Cold War strategy and force structure, so impressed Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen that Cohen turned to the Vice Chairman for advice in other areas as well.

General Ralston completed his second term as Vice Chairman on 29 February 2000. President William J. Clinton, upon Cohen's recommendation, had nominated him to become Commander in Chief of the US European Command (CINCEUR) and Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (SACEUR) the following May. He was the first Vice Chairman to move to another military position at the end of his tour of duty.

Joseph Ralston

General, USAF

Promotions

Dates

	Temporary	Permanent
2LT		24 Jul 65
1LT		24 Jan 67
CPT		24 Jul 68
MAJ		01 Dec 73
LTC		01 Apr 78
COL		01 Jun 81
BG		01 Mar 88
MG		01 Aug 90
LTG	13 Jul 92	
GEN	01 Jul 95	

Assignments

Dates

	From	To
Student, Pilot Training, Laughlin Air Force Base, TX	1965	1966
Student, F-105, Combat Crew Training School, Nellis Air Force Base, NV	1966	1967
F-105 Combat Crew Member, 67th Tactical Fighter Squadron, later 12th Tactical Fighter Squadron, Kadena Air Base, Okinawa	1967	1969
Student, F-105 Wild Weasel Pilot Training, Nellis Air Force Base, NV	1969	1969
F-105 Wild Weasel Pilot, 354th Tactical Fighter Squadron, Takhli Royal Thai Air Force Base, Thailand	1970	1970
F-105 Wild Weasel Instructor Pilot, 66th Fighter Weapons Squadron, Nellis Air Force Base, NV	1970	1971
Fighter Requirements Officer and Project Officer for F-15 and Lightweight Fighter Programs, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff, Requirements, Headquarters Tactical Air Command, Langley Air Force Base, VA	1971	1973
Assistant Operations Officer, 335th Tactical Fighter Squadron; then Chief, Standardization and Evaluation Division, 4th Tactical Fighter Wing, Seymour Johnson Air Force Base, NC	1973	1975

Assignments	Dates	
	From	To
Student, Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS	1975	1976
Tactical Fighter Requirements Officer, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff, Research and Development, Headquarters US Air Force, Washington, DC	1976	1979
Operations Officer, then Commander, 68th Tactical Fighter Squadron, Moody Air Force Base, GA	1979	1980
Special Assistant, then Executive Officer to the Commander, Headquarters Tactical Air Command, Langley Air Force Base, VA	1980	1983
Student, National War College, Fort Lesley J. McNair, Washington, DC	1983	1984
Special Assistant for Low Observable Technology to the Deputy Chief of Staff for Research, Development and Acquisition, Headquarters US Air Force, Washington, DC	1984	1986
Commander, 56th Tactical Training Wing, MacDill Air Force Base, FL	1986	1987
Assistant Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations, then Deputy Chief of Staff, Requirements, Headquarters Tactical Air Command, Langley Air Force Base, VA	1987	1990
Director of Tactical Programs, Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Acquisition, Washington, DC	1990	1991
Director of Operational Requirements, Headquarters US Air Force, Washington, DC . . .	1991	1992
Commander, Alaskan Command, Alaskan North American Aerospace Defense Command Region, 11th Air Force, and Joint Task Force Alaska, Elmendorf Air Force Base, Alaska	1992	1994
Deputy Chief of Staff for Plans and Operations, Headquarters US Air Force, Washington, DC . . .	1994	1995
Commander, Headquarters Air Combat Command, Langley Air Force Base, VA	1995	1996
Vice Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, DC	1996	2000
Commander in Chief, US European Command and Supreme Allied Commander, Europe	2000	

Principal US Military Decorations and Qualifications

Defense Distinguished Service Medal (with 1 oak leaf cluster)

Air Force Distinguished Service Medal

Legion of Merit (with 2 oak leaf clusters)

Distinguished Flying Cross (with 3 oak leaf clusters)

Meritorious Service Medal (with 2 oak leaf clusters)

Air Medal (with 19 oak leaf clusters)

Air Force Commendation Medal (with 4 oak leaf clusters)

Command Pilot

**THE JCS CONFERENCE ROOM:
“THE TANK”**



The JCS Conference Room, 1995

THE JCS CONFERENCE ROOM: “THE TANK”

In early 1942, the new US Joint Chiefs of Staff and US-British Combined Chiefs of Staff organizations moved into the US Public Health Building in Washington, DC, on Constitution Avenue between 19th and 20th Streets, NW. The building was soon redesignated the Combined Chiefs of Staff Building. Here the Joint Chiefs of Staff held their first formal meeting on 9 February 1942 in a conference room on the second floor (restored by the building's later occupant, the Interior Department, in 1992). They continued to use this room throughout World War II.

The conference room, or “presentation” room as it was initially called, soon became known as “The Tank.” A popular explanation of the origin of this nickname is that access to the entrance used by staff officers was down a flight of stairs through an arched portal, supposedly giving the impression of entering a tank.

The nickname survived the JCS Conference Room's moves to various locations. In January 1946 “The Tank” moved with the Joint Chiefs of Staff to the New War Department Building at 21st Street and Virginia Avenue, NW (later the US Department of State Building). In April 1947 the conference room moved with the Office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to the Pentagon, where it has occupied several locations on the second floor. From April 1947 until October 1949 it was located on corridor 2 in the D ring. The JCS Conference Room then moved to corridor 9 in the C ring. Since August 1957 “The Tank” has been on corridor 9 in the E ring. In addition to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Operations Deputies and the Deputy Operations Deputies may meet there.



George C. Marshall Research Library

The Combined Chiefs of Staff meet in the original JCS Conference Room, 23 October 1942.



The Joint Chiefs of Staff commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the JCS by meeting in the restored JCS Conference Room at the Department of the Interior, 10 February 1992.

**THE FLAG OF THE
CHAIRMAN OF THE
JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF**



The Flag of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

THE FLAG OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

Soon after General Omar N. Bradley took office as the first Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in August 1949, Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson asked the Secretary of the Army to prepare designs for a distinguishing flag for the Chairman. The Heraldic Branch of the Army Quartermaster General's Office (later the US Army Institute of Heraldry) drew up two designs, which the Secretary of the Army submitted to Secretary Johnson on 17 November. On 6 December Johnson approved the design preferred by General Bradley and requested that the Secretary of the Army provide the Chairman with such a flag.

The Manufacturing Division of the Philadelphia Quartermaster Depot made the flag, and it was delivered to General Bradley on 19 January 1950 and displayed in his office for the first time on 26 January. He also received a flag made of bunting for field use, small boat and automobile flags, and the flag reproduced on aluminum plates for use on aircraft.

The flag of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is of medium blue and white silk (the colors of the flags of the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense, respectively) divided diagonally from upper hoist to lower fly, blue above and white below. The central design consists of an American eagle with wings spread horizontally.

On the eagle's chest is a shield consisting of thirteen stripes, seven white and six red, representing the thirteen original colonies, with blue in chief (the upper part of the field), representing Congress joining the colonies into unity. The eagle, facing the pike, the point of honor in heraldry, holds three crossed

gold arrows in its talons, representing the Army, Navy, and Air Force.

The position of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is indicated by four stars, each with one point upward, placed on a diagonal line from upper fly to lower hoist, two to each side of the eagle. The stars on the blue field are white; those on the white field are blue. The placement of the stars on a diagonal line is intended to be representative of all three services. In Army and Air Force flags, stars are placed in a horizontal center line, while in the Navy a vertical center line is used for two stars, an imaginary triangle for three stars, and an imaginary lozenge for four stars.

The eagle and stars of the Chairman's flag are hand-embroidered, and three edges of the flag are trimmed with knotted fringe of

yellow silk. In addition, the flag has a cord and tassels of medium blue and white silk strands attached below the spearhead of the pike. The Chairman's flag is displayed in his office and carried in honors ceremonies when he is present.

In September 1950, when General Bradley was promoted to five-star rank, the Secretary of the Army asked whether an additional flag should be designed for use when the Chairman was a five-star officer. General Bradley did not think an additional flag was needed. He believed that the flag represented the position, not the rank of the individual occupant, and should not be changed to show the rank of the incumbent. The Secretary of Defense acceded to General Bradley's wishes and a five-star Chairman's flag was not designed.

THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF IDENTIFICATION BADGE



The Joint Chiefs of Staff Identification Badge

THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF IDENTIFICATION BADGE

Until 1963 the Joint Chiefs of Staff had no unique seal, emblem, or other identification device. From March 1949, personnel serving on a full-time duty status in the Organization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (OJCS) and associated boards and staffs were authorized to wear the National Military Establishment Identification Badge (subsequently renamed the Department of Defense Identification Badge). Military personnel assigned to the OJCS wore the DOD Identification Badge until January 1961, when Secretary of Defense Thomas S. Gates suspended further issuance of the badge.

On 5 February 1962, Lieutenant General Earle G. Wheeler, who was just completing his tour of duty as Director of the Joint Staff, wrote to the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower on the matter of the identification badge. Wheeler favored reinstitution of the badge or a similar device for military personnel on the Joint Staff. In December 1962 when Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell Gilpatric reinstated the DOD Identification Badge as the Office of the Secretary of Defense Identification Badge but limited its issuance to individuals assigned to OSD, he informed the Director of the Joint Staff that he did not object to institution of a similar device for Joint Staff personnel.

After the Personnel Directorate of the Joint Staff recommended adoption of a JCS identification badge, the US Army Institute of Heraldry designed an appropriate device. On 2 April 1963 the Joint Chiefs of Staff approved the establishment of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Identification Badge and on 3 April issued JCS Memorandum of Policy (MOP) 142 authorizing award of the

badge to members of the Armed Forces assigned to the OJCS. Subsequently, the criteria were expanded to include military personnel assigned to agencies in direct support of the OJCS and later the Joint Staff. Over the years, the JCS Identification Badge has been used as the seal of the Joint Chiefs of Staff although no official action has ever designated it as such.

The design features, within an oval silver metal wreath of laurel two and one-half inches in height and two inches in width overall, the shield of the United States. The chief (the upper one-third of the shield) in blue enamel and the base (the lower two-thirds of the shield) of thirteen stripes in alternating white and red enamel are superimposed on four gold metal unsheathed swords, two in pale

(vertical) and two in saltire (crossed). The points and pommels of the swords are resting on the wreath; the blades and grips are entwined with a gold metal continuous scroll surrounding the shield with the word "Joint" at the top and the words "Chiefs of Staff" at the bottom, all in blue enamel letters.

The symbolism of the badge includes the laurel for achievement, courage, and victory and the four unsheathed swords for the armed might of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps and their combined constant vigilance and readiness in the defense of the United States. Patented on 1 December 1964 (Patent No. Des. 199,678), the JCS Identification Badge appears on the covers of all JCS publications, plans, and official files.

**QUARTERS SIX:
THE CHAIRMAN'S RESIDENCE**



Quarters Six, Fort Myer, Virginia

QUARTERS SIX: THE CHAIRMAN'S RESIDENCE

Quarters Six, the Fort Myer, Virginia, residence of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, was constructed in 1908, the same year that Orville Wright made the world's first military test flight at Fort Myer. It was built from standard plan 120-H, designed by the Office of the Army's Quartermaster General in Washington, DC.

The 120 plan series, issued in 1898, was based on standard plans designed in the 1870s under Quartermaster General Montgomery Meigs. A distinguished engineer officer and an able administrator, Meigs designed many of the public structures in the Washington, DC area. His efforts to improve the efficiency of his department included the introduction of standardized plans for the various types of buildings built for the Army.

The 120 series of plans for family housing was widely used during the major building boom that started at Fort Myer after it became a permanent post in 1896. At that time Fort Myer was not only a bustling Signal Corps center but also a cavalry station. The spurt in construction gathered even more momentum after Secretary of War Elihu Root's reorganization of the expanded Army at the beginning of the twentieth century. The plan variation known as 120-H was issued in 1907 toward the end of this period of expansion. The dwellings built to this plan rose at the heart of Fort Myer. Their brick facades stand on granite block foundations and are representative of officers' quarters built on numerous military posts during this period.

Quarters Six, consisting of three stories and a basement, was originally built as a duplex. It was the largest building among the stately homes of



The sun room.

Officers' Row. Housing two junior officers and their families, the neo-Federal style building had eleven rooms and cost \$19,202 to build. It was among the first homes at Myer to be built with provision for electrical lighting, although installation of indoor plumbing was still three years away.

The design of the house reflects an architectural transition from the complicated and elaborate forms and features of Victorian residential construction to the simpler, more classical character of the Colonial Revival. The use of stone below the water table is characteristic of the former, while the plain windows and pedimented facade are characteristic of the latter.

In 1960 planning began for conversion of the duplex into a single residence for the

Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The Chief of Staff of the Army and the Chief of Naval Operations had long had official residences, and in June 1960 an official home had been designated for the Chief of Staff of the Air Force. There was, however, no specific set of quarters set aside for the Chairman. During congressional consideration of the proposal for official quarters for the Air Force Chief, Senator John Stennis asked if there were plans for permanent quarters for the Chairman. President Dwight D. Eisenhower called the Army Chief of Staff, General Lyman Lemnitzer, whom he had selected to be the next Chairman, to the White House to discuss the matter. As the Chairman, Lemnitzer would have had the prerogative of remaining at Quarters One at Fort Myer, the official



The dining room, with the table set for an official dinner.



The living room.



The view of the Washington Mall from Quarters Six.

residence of the Chief of Staff of the Army, as General Omar Bradley, another former Army Chief, had done during his tenure as Chairman. However, the President wished Quarters One to be available for the new Army Chief of Staff. He asked Lemnitzer to arrange for a permanent residence for the Chairman.

In September 1960 the Army reviewed quarters at Fort Myer that might be suitable for conversion into permanent housing for the Chairman. General Lemnitzer selected Quarters Six, which was a few doors from Quarters One and next door to Quarters Seven, recently designated as the official residence of the Air Force Chief of Staff. The projected cost of converting the duplex to a single dwelling was \$75,000. Secretary of the Army Wilber M. Brucker recommended Quarters Six's conversion to Secretary of Defense Thomas S. Gates, Jr., and both Secretary Gates and President Eisenhower approved the choice.

Renovation of the house began in early 1961. The project included major exterior and

interior changes and new mechanical and electric systems. Among the additions were a sun room and a carport. The final cost of the renovation was \$105,487. As remodeled, the house has 7,365 square feet of living space. General Lemnitzer and his wife moved into Quarters Six in early January 1962 and remained until his service as Chairman ended.

Since then, each Chairman has resided in Quarters Six with his family during his tenure. The first floor is used primarily for official entertaining, while the family quarters are on the second and third floors.

On Grant Avenue on a bluff looking north across the Potomac River, the house faces the flagpole on Whipple Field and has a panoramic view of the monuments along the Washington Mall. As part of Generals' Row, Quarters Six belongs to the Fort Myer National Historic District.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Extracts of Public Law 81-216, 10 August 1949 National Security Act Amendments of 1949

Section 211 of the National Security Act of 1947 is amended to read as follows:

Sec. 211. (a) There is hereby established within the Department of Defense the Joint Chiefs of Staff, which shall consist of the Chairman, who shall be the presiding officer thereof but who shall have no vote; the Chief of Staff, United States Army; the Chief of Naval Operations; and the Chief of Staff, United States Air Force. The Joint Chiefs of Staff shall be the principal military advisers to the President, the National Security Council, and the Secretary of Defense.

(b) Subject to the authority and direction of the President and the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Chiefs of Staff shall perform the following duties, in addition to such other duties as the President or the Secretary of Defense may direct:

(1) preparation of strategic plans and provision for the strategic direction of the military forces;

(2) preparation of joint logistic plans and assignment to the military services of logistic responsibilities in accordance with such plans;

(3) establishment of unified commands in strategic areas;

(4) review of major material and personnel requirements of the military forces in accordance with strategic and logistic plans;

(5) formulation of policies for joint training of the military forces;

(6) formulation of policies for coordinating the military education of members of the military forces; and

(7) providing United States representation on the Military Staff Committee of the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

(c) The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (hereinafter referred to as the 'Chairman') shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, from among the Regular officers of the armed services to

serve at the pleasure of the President for a term of two years and shall be eligible for one reappointment, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, except in time of war hereafter declared by the Congress when there shall be no limitation on the number of such reappointments. The Chairman shall receive the basic pay and basic and personal money allowances prescribed by law for the Chief of Staff, United States Army, and such special pays and hazardous duty pays to which he may be entitled under other provisions of law.

(d) The Chairman, if in the grade of general, shall be additional to the number of officers in the grade of general provided in the third proviso of section 504(b) of the Officer Personnel Act of 1947 (Public Law 381, Eightieth Congress) or, if in the rank of admiral, shall be additional to the number of officers having the rank of admiral provided in section 413(a) of such Act. While holding such office he shall take precedence over all other officers of the armed services: *Provided*, That the Chairman shall not exercise military command over the Joint Chiefs of Staff or over any of the military services.

(e) In addition to participating as a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the performance of the duties assigned in subsection (b) of this section, the Chairman shall, subject to the authority and direction of the President and the Secretary of Defense, perform the following duties:

- (1) serve as the presiding officer of the Joint Chiefs of Staff;
- (2) provide agenda for meetings of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and assist the Joint Chiefs of Staff to prosecute their business as promptly as practicable; and
- (3) inform the Secretary of Defense and, when appropriate as determined by the President or the Secretary of Defense, the President, of those issues upon which agreement among the Joint Chiefs of Staff has not been reached.

APPENDIX 2

Extracts of Public Law 99-433, 1 October 1986
Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense
Reorganization Act of 1986

CHAPTER 5 — JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

Sec.

- 151. Joint Chiefs of Staff: composition; functions.
- 152. Chairman: appointment; grade and rank.
- 153. Chairman: functions.
- 154. Vice Chairman.
- 155. Joint Staff.

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Sec. 151. Joint Chiefs of Staff: composition; functions

(a) **Composition.**—There are in the Department of Defense the Joint Chiefs of Staff, headed by the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The Joint Chiefs of Staff consist of the following:

- (1) The Chairman.*
- (2) The Chief of Staff of the Army.
- (3) The Chief of Naval Operations.
- (4) The Chief of Staff of the Air Force.
- (5) The Commandant of the Marine Corps.

(b) **Function as military advisers.**—(1) The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is the principal military adviser to the President, the National Security Council, and the Secretary of Defense.

(2) The other members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff are military advisers to the President, the National Security Council, and the Secretary of Defense as specified in subsections (d) and (e).

* 1992 Amendment (Public Law 102-484, 23 October 1992) added sub-paragraph "(2) The Vice Chairman;" the following sub-paragraphs were re-numbered.

(c) Consultation by Chairman.—(1) In carrying out his functions, duties, and responsibilities, the Chairman shall, as he considers appropriate, consult with and seek the advice of—

(A) the other members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; and

(B) the commanders of the unified and specified combatant commands.

(2) Subject to subsection (d), in presenting advice with respect to any matter to the President, the National Security Council, or the Secretary of Defense, the Chairman shall, as he considers appropriate, inform the President, the National Security Council, or the Secretary of Defense, as the case may be, of the range of military advice and opinion with respect to that matter.

(d) Advice and opinions of members other than Chairman.—(1) A member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (other than the Chairman) may submit to the Chairman advice or an opinion in disagreement with, or advice or an opinion in addition to, the advice presented by the Chairman to the President, the National Security Council, or the Secretary of Defense. If a member submits such advice or opinion, the Chairman shall present the advice or opinion of such member at the same time he presents his own advice to the President, the National Security Council, or the Secretary of Defense, as the case may be.

(2) The Chairman shall establish procedures to ensure that the presentation of his own advice to the President, the National Security Council, or the Secretary of Defense is not unduly delayed by reason of the submission of the individual advice or opinion of another member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

(e) Advice on request.—The members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, individually or collectively, in their capacity as military advisers, shall provide advice to the President, the National Security Council, or the Secretary of Defense on a particular matter when the President, the National Security Council, or the Secretary requests such advice.

(f) Recommendations to Congress.—After first informing the Secretary of Defense, a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff may make such recommendations to Congress relating to the Department of Defense as he considers appropriate.

(g) Meetings of JCS.—(1) The Chairman shall convene regular meetings of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

(2) Subject to the authority, direction, and control of the President and the Secretary of Defense, the Chairman shall—

(A) preside over the Joint Chiefs of Staff;

(B) provide agenda for the meetings of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (including, as the Chairman considers appropriate, any subject for the agenda recommended by any other member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff);

(C) assist the Joint Chiefs of Staff in carrying on their business as promptly as practicable; and

(D) determine when issues under consideration by the Joint Chiefs of Staff shall be decided.

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Sec. 152. Chairman: appointment; grade and rank **

(a) Appointment; term of office.—(1) There is a Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, from the officers of the regular components of the armed forces. The Chairman serves at the pleasure of the President for a term of two years, beginning on October 1 of odd-numbered years. Subject to paragraph (3), an officer serving as Chairman may be reappointed in the same manner for two additional terms. However, in time of war there is no limit on the number of reappointments.

(2) In the event of the death, retirement, resignation, or reassignment of the officer serving as Chairman before the end of the term for which the officer was appointed, an officer appointed to fill the vacancy shall serve as Chairman only for the remainder of the original term, but may be reappointed as provided in paragraph (1).

(3) An officer may not serve as Chairman or Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff if the combined period of service of such officer in such positions exceeds six years. However, the President may extend to eight years the combined period of service an officer may serve in such positions if he determines such action is in the national interest. The limitations of this paragraph do not apply in time of war.

(b) Requirement for appointment.—(1) The President may appoint an officer as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff only if the officer has served as—

(A) the Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff;

(B) the Chief of Staff of the Army, the Chief of Naval Operations, the Chief of Staff of the Air Force, or the Commandant of the Marine Corps; or

(C) the commander of a unified or specified combatant command.

(2) The President may waive paragraph (1) in case of an officer if the President determines such action is necessary in the national interest.

(c) Grade and Rank.—The Chairman, while so serving, holds the grade of general or, in the case of an officer of the Navy, admiral and outranks all other officers of the armed forces. However, he may not exercise military command over the Joint Chiefs of Staff or any of the armed forces.

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Sec 153. Chairman: functions

(a) Planning; advice; policy formulation.—Subject to the authority, direction, and control of the President and the Secretary of Defense, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff shall be responsible for the following:

** 1987 Amendment (Public Law 100-180, 4 December 1982) substituted "grade and rank" for "rank."

(1) **Strategic direction.** Assisting the President and the Secretary of Defense in providing for the strategic direction of the armed forces.

(2) **Strategic planning.**—(A) Preparing strategic plans, including plans which conform with resource levels projected by the Secretary of Defense to be available for the period of time for which the plans are to be effective.

(B) Preparing joint logistic and mobility plans to support those strategic plans and recommending the assignment of logistic and mobility responsibilities to the armed forces in accordance with those logistic and mobility plans.

(C) Performing net assessments to determine the capabilities of the armed forces of the United States and its allies as compared with those of their potential adversaries.

(3) **Contingency planning; preparedness.**—(A) Providing for the preparation and review of contingency plans which conform to policy guidance from the President and the Secretary of Defense.

(B) Preparing joint logistic and mobility plans to support those contingency plans and recommending the assignment of logistic and mobility responsibilities to the armed forces in accordance with those logistic and mobility plans.

(C) Advising the Secretary on critical deficiencies and strengths in force capabilities (including manpower, logistic, and mobility support) identified during the preparation and review of contingency plans and assessing the effect of such deficiencies and strengths on meeting national security objectives and policy and on strategic plans.

(D) Establishing and maintaining, after consultation with the commanders of the unified and specified combatant commands, a uniform system of evaluating the preparedness of each such command to carry out missions assigned to the command.

(4) **Advice on requirements, programs, and budget.**—(A) Advising the Secretary, under section 163(b)(2) of this title, on the priorities of the requirements identified by the commanders of the unified and specified combatant commands.

(B) Advising the Secretary on the extent to which the program recommendations and budget proposals of the military departments and other components of the Department of Defense for a fiscal year conform with the priorities established in strategic plans and with the priorities established for the requirements of the unified and specified combatant commands.

(C) Submitting to the Secretary alternative program recommendations and budget proposals, within projected resource levels and guidance provided by the Secretary, in order to achieve greater conformance with the priorities referred to in clause (B).

(D) Recommending to the Secretary, in accordance with section 166 of this title, a budget proposal for activities of each unified and specified combatant command.

(E) Advising the Secretary on the extent to which the major programs and policies of the armed forces in the area of manpower conform with strategic plans.

(F) Assessing military requirements for defense acquisition programs.

(5) Doctrine, training, and education.—(A) Developing doctrine for the joint employment of the armed forces.

(B) Formulating policies for the joint training of the armed forces.

(C) Formulating policies for coordinating the military education and training of members of the armed forces.

(6) Other matters.—(A) providing for representation of the United States on the Military Staff Committee of the United Nations in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

(B) Performing such other duties as may be prescribed by law or by the President or the Secretary of Defense.***

.....
Sec. 154. Vice Chairman

(a) Appointment.—(1) There is a Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, from the officers of the regular components of the armed forces.

(2) The Chairman and Vice Chairman may not be members of the same armed force. However, the President may waive the restriction in the preceding sentence for a limited period of time in order to provide for the orderly transition of officers appointed to serve in the positions of Chairman and Vice Chairman.

(3) The Vice Chairman serves at the pleasure of the President for a term of two years and may be reappointed in the same manner for two additional terms. However, in time of war there is no limit on the number of reappointments.

(b) Requirement for appointment.—(1) The President may appoint an officer as Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff only if the officer—

(A) has the joint specialty under section 661 of this title; and

(B) has served in at least one joint duty assignment . . . as a general or flag officer. ****

(2) The President may waive paragraph—(1) in the case of an officer if the President determines such action is necessary in the national interest.

*** Additional legislation in 1986 (Public Law 99-433, 1 October 1986) added a section (b) requiring a report on assignment of roles and missions.

**** 1988 Amendment (Public Law 100-456, 29 September 1988) substituted “completed a full tour of duty in a joint duty assignment (as defined in section 664(f) of this title)” for “served in at least one joint duty assignment (as defined under section 668(b) of this title).”

(c) **Duties.**—The Vice Chairman performs such duties as may be prescribed by the Chairman with the approval of the Secretary of Defense. *****

(d) **Function as acting Chairman.**—When there is a vacancy in the office of Chairman or in the absence or disability of the Chairman, the Vice Chairman acts as Chairman and performs the duties of the Chairman until a successor is appointed or the absence or disability ceases.

(e) **Succession after Chairman and Vice Chairman.**—When there is a vacancy in the offices of both Chairman and Vice Chairman, or when there is a vacancy in one such office and in the absence or disability of the officer holding the other, the President shall designate a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to act as and perform the duties of the Chairman until a successor to the Chairman or Vice Chairman is appointed or the absence or disability of the Chairman or Vice Chairman ceases.

(f) **Participation in JCS meetings.**—The Vice Chairman may participate in all meetings of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, but may not vote on a matter before the Joint Chiefs of Staff except when acting as Chairman. *****

(g) **Grade and rank.**—The Vice Chairman, while so serving, holds the grade of general or, in the case of an officer of the Navy, admiral and outranks all other officers of the armed forces except the Chairman. The Vice Chairman may not exercise military command over the Joint Chiefs of Staff or any of the armed forces.

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Sec. 203. Participation in the National Security Council meetings

Section 101 of the National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 402) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

(e) The Chairman (or in his absence the Vice Chairman) of the Joint Chiefs of Staff may, in his role as principal military adviser to the National Security Council and subject to the direction of the President, attend and participate in meetings of the National Security Council.

***** 1992 Amendment changed this section to read “Duties.—The Vice Chairman performs the duties prescribed for him as a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and such other duties as may be prescribed by the Chairman with the approval of the Secretary of Defense.”

***** 1992 Amendment struck this subsection which prohibited the Vice Chairman from voting except when acting as Chairman and redesignated subsection (g) as subsection (f).

APPENDIX 3

Chronological Listing of Presidents of the United States, Secretaries of Defense, and Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

President	Secretary of Defense	Chairman, JCS
Harry S Truman 12 Apr 45–20 Jan 53	James V. Forrestal 17 Sep 47–27 Mar 49 Louis A. Johnson 28 Mar 49–19 Sep 50 George C. Marshall 21 Sep 50–12 Sep 51 Robert A. Lovett 17 Sep 51–20 Jan 53	Gen. of the Army Omar N. Bradley, USA 16 Aug 49–
Dwight D. Eisenhower 20 Jan 53–20 Jan 61	Charles E. Wilson 28 Jan 53–08 Oct 57 Neil H. McElroy 09 Oct 57–01 Dec 59 Thomas S. Gates, Jr. 02 Dec 59–20 Jan 61	Gen. of the Army Omar N. Bradley, USA –15 Aug 53 Adm. Arthur W. Radford, USN 15 Aug 53–15 Aug 57 Gen. Nathan F. Twining, USAF 15 Aug 57–30 Sep 60 Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer, USA 01 Oct 60–
John F. Kennedy 20 Jan 61–22 Nov 63	Robert S. McNamara 21 Jan 61–	Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer, USA –30 Sep 62 Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, USA 01 Oct 62–

President	Secretary of Defense	Chairman, JCS
Lyndon B. Johnson 22 Nov 63–20 Jan 69	Robert S. McNamara –29 Feb 68 Clark M. Clifford 01 Mar 68–20 Jan 69	Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, USA –01 Jul 64 Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, USA 03 Jul 64–
Richard M. Nixon 20 Jan 69–09 Aug 74	Melvin R. Laird 22 Jan 69–29 Jan 73 Elliot L. Richardson 30 Jan 73–24 May 73 James R. Schlesinger 02 Jul 73–	Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, USA –02 Jul 70 Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, USN 02 Jul 70–01 Jul 74 Gen. George S. Brown, USAF 01 Jul 74–
Gerald R. Ford 09 Aug 74–20 Jan 77	James R. Schlesinger –19 Nov 75 Donald H. Rumsfeld 20 Nov 75–20 Jan 77	Gen. George S. Brown, USAF
Jimmy Carter 20 Jan 77–20 Jan 81	Harold Brown 21 Jan 77–20 Jan 81	Gen. George S. Brown, USAF –20 Jun 78 Gen. David C. Jones, USAF 21 Jun 78–
Ronald W. Reagan 20 Jan 81–20 Jan 89	Caspar W. Weinberger 21 Jan 81–23 Nov 87 Frank C. Carlucci 23 Nov 87–20 Jan 89	Gen. David C. Jones, USAF –18 Jun 82 Gen. John W. Vessey, Jr., USA 18 Jun 82–30 Sep 85 Adm. William J. Crowe, Jr., USN 01 Oct 85–
George H. W. Bush 20 Jan 89–20 Jan 93	Dick Cheney 21 Mar 89–20 Jan 93	Adm. William J. Crowe, Jr., USN –30 Sep 89 Gen. Colin L. Powell, USA 01 Oct 89–

President

William J. Clinton
20 Jan 93–

Secretary of Defense

Les Aspin
20 Jan 93–03 Feb 94
William J. Perry
03 Feb 94–24 Jan 97
William S. Cohen
24 Jan 97–

Chairman, JCS

Gen. Colin L. Powell, USA
–30 Sep 93
Gen. John M. Shalikashvili, USA
25 Oct 93*–
Gen. John M. Shalikashvili, USA
–30 Sep 97
Gen. Henry H. Shelton, USA
01 Oct 97

* Admiral David E. Jeremiah, the Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, served as Acting Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from 1 to 24 October 93.

NOTES

¹ JCS Historical Div., *Organizational Development of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1942–1987*, (Washington, 1988), 1–4.

² *The Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, ed. by Larry Bland, vol. 3 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1991), 285; Forrest C. Pogue, *George C. Marshall: Ordeal and Hope, 1939–1942* (New York: Viking, 1966), 299–300. In September 1941 the President had written to GEN Marshall and ADM Stark, “The Chief of Staff of the Army is the Chief of Staff of the Commander-in-Chief, and the Chief of Naval Operations is, in effect, the Chief of Staff of the Commander-in-Chief in respect to naval operations.” Vernon E. Davis, *Origin of the Joint and Combined Chiefs of Staff*, vol. 1, TS (Washington: 1972), 55.

³ William D. Leahy, *I Was There* (New York: Whittlesey, 1950), 101. Leahy describes his working routine on pp. 98–99. Leahy had only a very small staff. Marshall’s description of him, in September 1942, as heading an organization that included the joint secretariat and various joint committees remained purely theoretical. Bland, *Marshall*, 338; Pogue, *Marshall: Ordeal and Hope*, 298.

⁴ John Ehrman, *Grand Strategy*, vol. 6 (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1956), 341; CCS 409, 25 Nov 43; Minutes of the 132nd Mtg of the CCS, 0930, 30 Nov 43, 459; *Papers and Minutes of Meetings, SEXTANT and EUREKA Conferences*, JHO.

⁵ Alex Danchev, *Very Special Relationship* (London: Brassey’s, 1986), 58; Ehrman, *Grand Strategy*, vol. 6, 341; Leahy, *I Was There*, 297, 315–316. Roosevelt’s failing health placed greater responsibilities upon subordinates. On 6 April 1945 Leahy drafted and Roosevelt quickly approved without comment a message to Churchill that seemed to imply a major policy change: “Our Armies will in a

very few days be in a position that will permit us to become ‘tougher’ [toward Stalin] than has heretofore appeared advantageous to the war effort.” *Churchill and Roosevelt: The Complete Correspondence*, ed. Warren F. Kimball, vol. 3 (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1984), 617.

⁶ Leahy, *I Was There*, 434–435; David Robertson, *Sly and Able: A Political Biography of James F. Byrnes* (New York: Norton, 1994), 434–436. Truman’s decision had large consequences. In Asia, communists gained power when they were able, as in China and Vietnam, to identify with nationalist aspirations. In Japan, the imperial institution remained the focus of national loyalty.

⁷ James F. Schnabel, *The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy: 1945–1947* (Washington, 1996), 202–203.

⁸ Diary of ADM W. D. Leahy, Entry for 5 Mar 46, Leahy Papers, Library of Congress; Kenneth W. Condit, *The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy: 1947–1949* (Washington, 1996), 128–137.

⁹ National Security Act of 1947, *Statutes at Large* 61, sec.1, 495 (1948).

¹⁰ Steven L. Rearden, *History of the Office of the Secretary of Defense*, vol. 1, *The Formative Years, 1947–1950* (Washington, 1984), 37–38.

¹¹ Omar N. Bradley and Clay Blair, *A General’s Life* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1983), 494–495; National Military Establishment, *First Annual Report of the Secretary of Defense* (Washington, 1948), 3–4.

¹² Bradley and Blair, *A General’s Life*, 500–501; Condit, *JCS and National Policy: 1947–1949*, 142–149; Rearden, *OSD: Formative Years*, 364–374.

¹³ Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, *Report to Congress on National Security Organization*, 15 Feb 49.

¹⁴ Congress, Senate, Committee on Armed Services, *National Security Act Amendments of 1949*, 81st Cong., 1st sess., 1–6, 10, 14–15, 22, 108–125; Memo, JCS to SecDef, “National Security Act Amendments of 1949,” 25 Mar 49, CCS 040 (11–2–43) sec. 6.

¹⁵ Congress, Senate, “National Security Act Amendments of 1949,” Senate Report 81–306, 81st Cong., 1st sess., 12 May 49; Congress, House, Committee on Armed Services, Hearings on S. 1843, 81st Cong., 1st sess., 2842–2857, 2883.

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¹⁷ Congress, House, *The National Defense Program: Unification and Strategy*, Committee on Armed Services, 81st Cong., 1st sess., 528–529, 535–536.

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²³ SM–202–51 to JCS, “State–JCS Discussion on 24 Jan 51,” 24 Jan 51, CCS 337 (1–24–51) sec. 1.

²⁴ Congress, Senate, *Military Situation in the Far East*, Committees on Armed Services and Foreign Relations, 82nd Cong., 1st sess., 729–734; Bradley and Blair, *A General's Life*, 653–654.

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²⁶ *Public Papers of the Presidents: Dwight D. Eisenhower*, 1953 (Washington, 1960), 225–228; JCS Historical Div., *Organizational Development of the Joint Chiefs of Staff: 1942–1987*, 35–41.

²⁷ *From Pearl Harbor to Vietnam: The Memoirs of Admiral Arthur W. Radford*, ed. Stephen Jurika (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1980), 181–182, 317–319.

²⁸ Kenneth W. Condit, *The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy: 1955–1956* (Washington, 1992), 32–37; Byron R. Fairchild and Walter S. Poole, *The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy: 1957–1960* (Washington, 2000), 31–36.

²⁹ Watson, *JCS and National Policy, 1953–1954*, 253–254; Condit, *JCS and National Policy, 1955–1956*, 202–209, 178–192; *FRUS: 1955–1957*, vol. 16 (Washington, 1990), 1080.

³⁰ Memorandum of Conference with the President by BG Goodpaster, May 13, 1959, 14 May 59, Ann Whitman File, Dwight D. Eisenhower Diary, Staff Notes, May '59, Eisenhower Library; *New York Times*, 19 May 59, 18.

³¹ *Public Papers of the Presidents: Eisenhower, 1958* (Washington, 1959), 274–290.

³² Congress, House, *Reorganization of the Department of Defense*, Committee on Armed Services, 85th Cong, 2nd sess, 6176–6177.

³³ As examples, during the 1954 Dien Bien Phu crisis, South Korean President Syngman Rhee offered to send a division to Laos. Admiral Radford informed the NSC that he favored rejecting the offer on military grounds “but that the Chiefs had outvoted him on the issue.” In 1974 the Chief of Naval Operations, ADM Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr., wanted a JCS memorandum to state that there was “no military rationale” for endorsing a treaty imposing an upper limit or threshold on the size of nuclear devices that could be tested. “The Army and the Air Force particularly felt that that statement was counterproductive,” Zumwalt wrote later, but “I had the votes. The Marines went along with the Navy and I, as acting Chairman, was the tiebreaker. However, the spirit of compromise prevailed. . . .” *FRUS: 1952–1954*, vol. 13 (Washington, 1982), 1095; Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr., *On Watch* (New York: Quadrangle, 1976), 497–498.

³⁴ JCS Historical Div., *Organizational Development of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1942–1989* (Washington, 1989), 35–45.

³⁵ CM 423–59 to CNO et al., 10 Nov 59, Information Management Div., Office of the Secretary, Joint Staff.

³⁶ *From Pearl Harbor to Vietnam*, ed. Jurika, 318.

³⁷ “Memorandum of Conference with the President, July 14, 1959,” by BG A. J. Goodpaster, Staff Notes, July '59 (3), Eisenhower Library.

³⁸ Condit, *JCS and National Policy: 1955–1956*, 59–78; *FRUS: 1958–1960*, vol. 3 (Washington, 1996), 444–445.

³⁹ Maxwell D. Taylor, *Swords and Plowshares* (New York: Norton, 1972), 197.

⁴⁰ *FRUS: 1961–1963*, vol. 8 (Washington, 1996), 109–110.

⁴¹ Taylor, *Swords*, 196–203, 225–244; *FRUS: 1961–1963*, vol. 14 (Washington, 1993), 398–399; CM–358–61 to SecDef, 11 Sep 61, JCS 1970/395; JCSM 641–61 to SecDef, 22 Sep 61, JCS 1907/396; 9172 Berlin/3100 (8 Sep 61).

⁴² JCS 2143/148, 15 Feb 62; Note to Control Div., “JCS 2143/148,” 21 Feb 62; CM–734–62 to JCS, 13 Jun 62; CM–859–62 to JCS, 2 Aug 62; JCSM–654–62 to SecDef, 27 Aug 62, JCS 2143/170; all in JCS 3130 (24 Oct 61).

⁴³ GEN Lyman L. Lemnitzer, interview by Walter S. Poole, JCS Historical Div., 12 Feb 1976, JHO; GEN Lemnitzer, speech to National Security Industrial Assn., 27 Oct 1962, JHO.

⁴⁴ Congress, Senate, *Nominations of GEN Maxwell D. Taylor and GEN Earle G. Wheeler*, Committee on Armed Services, 87th Cong., 2d sess., 9 Aug 62, 1–21; Taylor, *Swords*, 252. The number of JCS papers with “split” recommendations rose from thirteen in 1962 to forty-two in 1963. “JCS Decision Statistics, 1958–1982,” prepared by Action Management Div., JCS Secretariat.

⁴⁵ "Notes Taken from Transcripts of Meetings of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, October-November 1962, Dealing with the Cuban Missile Crisis," JHO; Benjamin F. Bradlee, *Conversations with Kennedy* (New York: Norton, 1975), 122.

⁴⁶ Draft JCSM-543-63 to SecDef, n.d. [16 Jul 63], 3050 (5 Jul 63) sec. 2; "Memo of Conference with the President, July 24, 1963, 10:00 AM," Chairman's File 031.1 Meetings with President; CM-802-63 to JCS, 10 Aug 63; Note to Control Div., "CM-802-63," 12 Aug 63, 3050 (26 Jul 63) sec. 3.

⁴⁷ CM-109-62 to DJS, 14 Nov 62, JCS 2143/177, 3130 (14 Nov 62) sec. 1; CM-524-63 to SecDef, 17 Apr 63, JCS 2143/201, same file, sec. 2B; CM-1111-64 to JCS, 9 Jan 64, JCS 2143/205-13; 3130 (5 Jul 63); CM-1124-64 to SecDef, 20 Mar 64, 3130 (16 Sep 63) sec. 4A; CM-1009-63 to SecDef, 12 Nov 63, JCS 1800/775-2, 7000 (10 Oct 63) sec. 3.

⁴⁸ JCSM-471-64 to SecDef, 2 Jun 64; CM-1451-64 to SecDef, 5 Jun 64; JCS 2343/394-1, 9155.3 (28 May 64); Memorandum for Record (MFR) by Gen Wallace M. Greene, Jr., USMC, "Chairman's Action on JCS Paper, 'Objectives and Courses of Action-Southeast Asia'," 1 Jun 64, Greene Papers, Marine Corps Historical Center; *Taking Charge*, ed. Michael R. Beschloss (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997), 407-411, 415-416.

⁴⁹ GEN Harold K. Johnson, USA (Ret), interview by Walter S. Poole, 21 Mar 1979, JHO. The number of JCS splits fell from forty during 1965 to seven in 1966 and remained in single figures throughout Wheeler's tenure. "JCS Decision Statistics, 1958-1982," prepared by Action Management Div., JCS Secretariat.

⁵⁰ GEN Earle G. Wheeler, interview by Dorothy P. McSweeney, 21 Aug 1969, Johnson Library.

⁵¹ As of 30 September 1966, four of eleven significant airfields and nine of twenty thermal power plants listed in the ninety-four target program had not been attacked. The port at Haiphong, which Wheeler regarded as particularly important, remained untouched. JHO, *The Joint Chiefs of Staff and the War in Vietnam*, pt. 3 (Washington, 1970), 36-11; Robert S. McNamara, *In Retrospect* (New York: Times Books/Random House, 1995), 189.

⁵² McNamara, *In Retrospect*, 291; *FRUS: 1964-1968*, vol. 3 (Washington, 1996), 646; Congress, Senate, *Air War against North Vietnam*, Committee on Armed Services., 90th Cong., 1st sess., 127-128.

⁵³ Willard J. Webb, "The Single Manager Problem," unpublished manuscript, JHO; Jack Shulimson et al., *U. S. Marines in Vietnam: The Defining Year, 1968* (Washington, 1997), 487-515.

⁵⁴ "Notes by Tom Johnson of the President's Meeting with GENs Wheeler and Abrams in the White House Family Dining Room, 1130-1215 hours, 26 March 1968," Tom Johnson's Notes of Meetings Collection, Johnson Library. Clark M. Clifford had succeeded McNamara on 1 March 1968.

⁵⁵ *Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, reappointment, Statutes at Large* 82, 180 (1969).

⁵⁶ Memorandum of TELCONS with The Honorable Melvin Laird on 8 June 1999 by David A. Armstrong, JHO.

⁵⁷ "Notes by Tom Johnson of the President's Meeting with Secretary Rusk, Secretary Clifford, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Sen. Richard Russell, 1340 hours, 14 October 1968," Tom Johnson's Notes of Meetings Collection, Johnson Library. CM-3743-68 to Pres-

ident Johnson, 31 Oct 68, GEN Wheeler's File, 091 Vietnam. Willard J. Webb, *The Joint Chiefs of Staff and the War in Vietnam: 1969–1970*, TS (Washington: 1976), 38–51, 218–220. Hrgs, *Subjects Affecting the Naval and Military Establishments*, H. Com. on Armed Svcs, 91st Cong., 2nd sess., p. 6917.

⁵⁸ “Structural Difficulties—Is a JCS Reorganization Really Needed?” (Interview with Former JCS Chairman ADM. Thomas H. Moorer), *Sea Power* 28, no. 13 (1985): 33. Shortly after retiring, Wheeler wrote to GEN Harold K. Johnson, who had been Army Chief of Staff during 1964–1968, “Frankly, Johnny, I feel that I have been a colossal failure.” GEN Johnson showed this letter to Walter S. Poole during an interview on 21 March 1979.

⁵⁹ Kissinger, *White House Years*, 35.

⁶⁰ Congress, Senate, *Nomination of Admiral Thomas H. Moorer, USN, To Be Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff*, Committee on Armed Services, 91st Cong., 2d sess., 4–5 June 1970, 30.

⁶¹ Richard Nixon, *The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (New York: Grossett & Dunlap, 1978), 198, 500, 734, 939; Kissinger, *White House Years*, 998, 1003, 1098, 1179–1180; Henry A. Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval* (Boston: Little, Brown, & Co., 1982), 458, 514, 534–536, 544, 586; Congress, House, *Joint Chiefs of Staff Current Decisionmaking Process*, Committee on Armed Services, 85th Cong., 2d sess., 12 Oct 1978, 28, 68; ADM Thomas H. Moorer, interview by members of Joint Staff Historical Div., 29 June 1990, JHO.

⁶² Moorer Papers, CJCS Files.

⁶³ Kissinger, *White House Years*, 1231–1241; Moorer Papers, CJCS Files; Gerard Smith, *Doubltalk* (Lanham: University Press of America,

1980), 374; ACSAN–108–72 to CJCS, 5 Jul 72, Chairman's File 388.3 SALT (Jan-Dec 72).

⁶⁴ Gen William Y. Smith, USAF (Ret), interview by Ronald H. Cole, Walter S. Poole, and Willard J. Webb, 20 Dec 88, JHO; *Washington Star*, 13 Nov 74, A–1; *Addresses and Statements by Gen. George S. Brown, 1974–1978*, 26, JHO; *U. S. News and World Report*, 1 Nov 76, 63–65; Donald H. Rumsfeld, interview by Roger Trask and Alfred Goldberg, 12 Jul 94, 27–29, Office of the OSD Historian.

⁶⁵ Memo, Carter to CJCS, 22 Sep 77, “Relations of JCS to the President,” S, JCS Info Memo 60–77, Information Management Div., Office of the Secretary, Joint Staff; CM–1814–78 to SecDef, 15 Feb 78, JCS 2522/12–4, S; Joint Staff Historical Div., *Evolution of the Joint Strategic Planning System: 1947–1989*, 16.

⁶⁶ William J. Jorden, *Panama Odyssey* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), 292–294, 441–442, 449–450; CM–1261–77 to CNO et al., 26 Jan 77, U; Memo, CSA to CJCS, 27 Jan 77, with buckslip, U; MFR by LTG Welborn G. Dolvin, 31 Jan 77, U; State Dept. Memo, “Briefing for Senators, July 14,” 15 Jul 77, U; Ltr, CJCS to Sen. Bennett Johnson, 28 Jul 77, U; all in CJCS File, 820 Panama; JCSM–223–77 to SecDef, 20 May 77, JCS 1778/239–2, U; 933/533 (20 Feb 75).

⁶⁷ MFR by Lt Gen W. Y. Smith, “SALT VP Meeting, 1000 hours, 21 April 1976,” 22 Apr 76, TS; MFR, “JCS Meeting 1000, 19 Jan 77,” Att to Memo, Lt Gen Smith to CJCS et al., 21 Jan 77, TS; MFR by LTG Edward Rowny, 2 Mar 77, TS; Chairman's File, 756 SALT; Strobe Talbott, *Endgame* (New York: Harper & Row, 1979), 58–59.

⁶⁸ Gen David C. Jones, USAF (Ret), “Reform: The Beginnings,” *The Goldwater-Nichols DOD*

Reorganization Act: A Ten Year Retrospective, ed. Dennis J. Quinn (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 1999), 4.

⁶⁹ LTG William E. Odom, USA (Ret), interview by Walter S. Poole and Steven L. Rearden, 16 Sep 98, JHO; Memo, Gen Jones to SecDef, "Overview of Budget Implications-Action Memo," 12 Aug 1978, U, Brezinski Collection, Staff Office File, Box 1, Jimmy Carter Presidential Library; JCSM-284-78 to SecDef, 23 Aug 1978, JCS 2522/33, U, 557 (23 Aug 78); Memo, SecDef to President, "FY 1980 Defense Program," 15 Sep 1978, TS, Brezinski Agency File, Box 5, Carter Library.

⁷⁰ *Washington Star*, 4 June 1980, 1; Gen Jones, Statement, 4 June 1980, JHO; Congress, Senate, *Nomination of David C. Jones to be Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff*, Committee on Armed Services, 96th Cong., 2nd sess., 16 June 1980.

⁷¹ James R. Schlesinger, "The 'Charge' Against Gen. Jones," *Washington Post*, 1 Jan 1981; Maxwell D. Taylor, "Should They Fire Gen. Jones?" *Washington Post*, 27 Jan 1981.

⁷² "Report to the Secretary of Defense on the National Military Command Structure," July 1978, reprinted in US Congress, House, *Reorganization Proposals for the Joint Chiefs of Staff*, Committee on Armed Services (Washington, 1982), 97:2. The Steadman Group took its name from its head, Richard C. Steadman, a former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense.

⁷³ Quoted in James Schlesinger, "The Office of the Secretary of Defense," *Reorganizing America's Defense Leadership in War and Peace*, ed. Robert J. Art, Vincent Davis, Samuel P. Huntington (Washington, DC: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1985), 257; Congress, Senate, *Nomination of David C. Jones to be Chairman of the Joint Chiefs*

of Staff, Committee on Armed Services, 96th Cong., 2nd sess., 16 June 1980.

⁷⁴ Jones, "Goldwater-Nichols"; David C. Jones, "Why the Joint Chiefs of Staff Must Change," *Directors and Boards*, Feb 1982; *Armed Forces International Journal*, Mar 1983, 62-68, 72.

⁷⁵ GEN Vessey, Letter to Director for Joint History, 23 Sep 1995, JHO; CM-2-82 to SecDef, 19 June 1982, CJCS Files 820 (Lebanon), S.

⁷⁶ Congress, Senate, *Nomination of John W. Vessey, Jr., To Be Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff*, Committee on Armed Services, 97th Cong., 2d sess, 11 May 1982; General Edward C. Meyer, "The JCS—How Much Reform Is Needed?" *Armed Forces Journal International*, April 1982, 82-90; GEN Vessey, Letter to Director for Joint History, 23 Sept 1995, JHO; Congress, House, *Reorganization Proposals for the Joint Chiefs of Staff*, Investigations Subcommittee of Committee on Armed Services, 97th Cong., 2d sess. *Congressional Record*, vol. 128, 16 Aug 82 (daily ed.), H5953.

⁷⁷ Ronald H. Cole, *Operation URGENT FURY* (Washington, 1997), 33; Walter S. Poole, *The JCS and US Involvement in Lebanon: July 1982-February 1984*, TS, 21, unpublished ms, JHO; Letter, SecDef to President, "Hearings on JCS Reorganization," 19 July 1982, JHO.

⁷⁸ *DOD Authorization Act, 1985, Statutes at Large* 98, pt. 1, 2492 (1986); Heritage Foundation, *Mandate for Leadership II* (1984), 431-448; Center for Strategic and International Studies, *Toward a More Effective Defense* (1985), 11-22; Congress, House, *Reorganization Proposals for the Joint Chiefs of Staff-1985*, Investigations Subcommittee of Committee on Armed Services, 99th Cong., 1st sess.; *Public Papers of the Presidents: Ronald Reagan, 1985* (Washington, 1988), 775-776.

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⁸⁰ Congress, Senate, *Reorganization of the Department of Defense*, Committee on Armed Services, 99th Cong., 1st sess., 1985, 691–699, and 99th Cong., 2d sess., 1986, 317–361; Blue Ribbon Commission on Defense Management, “An Interim Report to the President,” 26 Feb 86; William J. Crowe, Jr., *The Line of Fire* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993), 154–156; *Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986, Statutes at Large* 100, pt. 1, 2492 (1989), cited hereafter as GNA. See App. 2. The act was named for the Chairmen of the Senate and House Armed Services Committees, Sen. Barry Goldwater (R, AZ) and Rep. William Nichols (D, AL).

⁸¹ GNA, sec. 211(a).

⁸² Crowe, *The Line of Fire*, 126–128.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 187–188.

⁸⁴ Gen Alfred G. Hansen, USAF (Ret), interview by Dr. James K. Matthews, USTRANSCOM Historian, 1998, 12, JHO.

⁸⁵ See Lorna S. Jaffe, *The Development of the Base Force, 1989–1992* (Washington, 1993).

⁸⁶ See Ronald H. Cole, *Operation JUST CAUSE* (Washington, 1995); George Bush and Brent Scowcroft, *A World Transformed* (New York: Knopf, 1998), 469, 477.

⁸⁷ See Richard Holbrooke, *To End A War* (New York: Random House, 1998), 219–221, 328.

⁸⁸ CM–660–87 to SecDef, 6 Apr 87; Memo, SecDef to CJCS, “Duties of the Vice Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff,” 15 Apr 87.

⁸⁹ Gen Robert T. Herres, interview by Willard Webb, Walter Poole, and Lorna Jaffe, 13 Feb 90, JHO.

⁹⁰ Letter, CJCS to Hon. Ike Skelton, 13 Jun 1992, Papers of GEN Colin L. Powell, National Defense University Library Special Collections, Ft. McNair, Washington, D.C.; *National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1993, Statutes at Large* 106, pt. 3, 2315 (1993).

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